This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

**Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

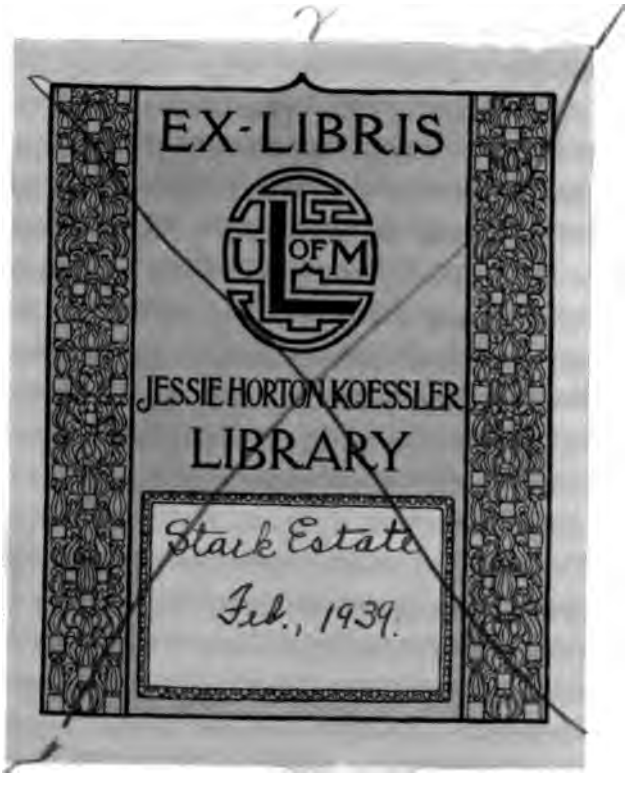
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

**About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

B 1,299,277




THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

# MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

*The Hamilton Palace Portrait.*
*In the possession of T. Bevan Esq.*

MARY
QUEEN OF SCOTS

# MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

AND

# WHO WROTE THE CASKET LETTERS?

BY

SAMUEL COWAN, J.P.

Of the *Perthshire Advertiser*

IN TWO VOLS.

VOL. I.

*Second Edition*

LONDON

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & COMPANY

*LIMITED*

NEW YORK

JAMES POTT & COMPANY

1901

DA
787
.A3
C87
1901
V.1

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
LONDON AND BECCLES.

Rio. Grande
1-12-68
64/1560-291

# PREFACE

In the following pages the more important events only in the life of Mary have been recorded, beginning with her administration of the Crown of Scotland in 1561. In putting another work on this subject before the public the question will naturally arise, Does it contain anything new? There will be found several communications now published for the first time. These are important as containing material which throws new light on questions of great historical interest. It is only by a close study of the correspondence of the period that we are able to form any judgment at all on the startling events of Mary's reign; and the formation of any such judgment is greatly obstructed by the prevalence of false and fraudulent documents, some of them carefully deposited in the State Paper Office, others in private collections. These papers are

so far responsible for much of the misconception that exists. The Casket Letters come within this category, but they represent only a small portion of the fraudulent papers.

The present work is not free from faults and blemishes, for no work on this subject can be so, on account of the imperfect nature of the material we have to draw upon.

From the murder of Darnley to the assassination of Moray it is very doubtful if any of the Records can be relied on. During that period there are some extraordinary exhibitions of reckless and unscrupulous administration, and of Judicial Courts which were a mockery of justice. The trial of Bothwell was a solemn farce, as were also the meetings, during that period, of the Privy Council. These on many occasions consisted of the murderers of Darnley, who nevertheless passed resolutions demanding the punishment of these men, specially Bothwell. Following out this fraudulent policy, they, on more than one occasion, executed several individuals who were perfectly innocent and were merely the servants of the conspirators in carrying out the murder. Actions such as these indicate the character of the whole situation, and point only to one conclusion.

The famous bond—the original bond—for Riccio's murder, about which there has been so much controversy as to who the signatories were, I have included in this work, also a photograph of it expressly taken. There is also included the last letter ever written by the Queen of Scots.

I have made a specialty of Mary's portraits —a feature not embraced in any previous life. These will afford the reader much interest. They have not been obtained without trouble, as the holders of authentic portraits are not easily discovered. The number and variety of Mary's portraits are remarkable, while it would be difficult to find two of them alike. It is evident that her portrait was taken many times during her life, and it is also evident that the artists employed were not all successful in reproducing an accurate and faithful likeness. We are, therefore, left in considerable doubt as to which of these is the most faithful and true. A very life-like and striking picture is the Hamilton Palace portrait, in the possession of Mr. Bevan. The Hamiltons were Mary's most influential supporters, and, failing her, they would have aspired to the crown. It is reasonable to suppose that they would possess an accurate portrait of her, though the fact is not recorded. This

portrait has only of recent years been removed from Hamilton Palace, where it has hung for many generations.

The leading events in the life of the queen will be found dealt with in their proper places—the Murder of Darnley, the Bothwell Marriage, the Casket Letters, and the Babington Conspiracy.

In these notes the following authorities have been consulted: Labanoff, George Chalmers, Goodall, Tytler (elder and younger), Dr. Gilbert Stuart, Strickland, Dr. Hill Burton, Mignet, Glassford Bell, McNeel Caird; Hosack, Nau, Stevenson, the Register of the Great Seal; the Aboyne Papers; and the Harleian, Cotton, Lansdowne, Yelverton, and Hardwicke collections, the last-named recently open to public inspection; finally the official papers and correspondence in the Public Record Office and the papers of the Historical MSS. Commission.

S. C.

PERTH,
*June*, 1901.

# PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE reception this work has met with has been extremely gratifying. That a Second Edition has been called for shows the interest the public continue to take in this great historical problem. The book has been appreciatively and generously reviewed by the Press, while a number of playful, albeit hard, remarks have been made by some writers, *e.g.* "labelling the conspirators," "special pleading," "saintly perfection of Mary," "incapability of dealing with evidence," "incompetent to deal with an historical subject," "don't quote authorities correctly," "explains away Pius V. in the most flimsy fashion." And some writers have got confused over the Riccio bond, the *fac-simile* of which has not been published before. Because Riccio's name is not in it, "I have the simplicity to say that clauses 3 and 5 provide for his assassination." I repeat that this is the

one else could reproduce these words, not even Mary, for she could have no recollection of the actual words that were spoken to Crawford. There is no more convincing proof of Crawford's guilt in any records of the period that have been preserved.

Other critics call my style "not of the spasmodic order," "does not display the brilliant inaccuracy of Froude, nor the cold sarcasm of Hill Burton." "Mr. Cowan has formed his opinion on most careful analysis of most contradictory evidence; he will take his place midway between Strickland and Laing." "If any think Moray a saintly personage, let them read Mr. Cowan's book and be undeceived." "Never, perhaps, in the history of the kingdom, has there been such an array of rapacious and unscrupulous noblemen." "An ably written review of the whole case relating to Mary." "There is enough of fresh material and of original and suggestive argument to impart to the work a high value." "A book which subsequent historians of the period cannot overlook." "He who would follow closely the discussion cannot afford to be without the two handsome volumes under review." "Mr. Cowan writes in a clear, unaffected style, and omits nothing that is necessary." "A book which every book-lover should have." "Mr. Cowan's brevity seems scarcely thoughtful

enough." "Mr. Cowan has produced the classic life of Mary Queen of Scots." "Mr. Cowan, with the mind and eye of a practised judge, weighs the evidence and comes to this conclusion."

Notwithstanding this great variety of criticism, the book has had from the public a cordial reception, and it may now be safely left in their hands. The preparation has been a labour of love, and it is an interesting fact that, after all the keen criticism it has received, not one of the author's statements has been overturned.

S. C.

PERTH,
*November*, 1901.

# CONTENTS

## CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Early years of Mary—Return from France to Scotland—Her personal appearance—Her first Catholic service in Holyrood—The Catholic religion and her subjects—First State procession from Holyrood—Proclamation respecting her defence of the Protestant faith—First interview with Knox—First entry into Stirling and Perth—Offensive proclamation of the Reformers—Her removal of the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh—Proposed meeting of the two queens—Proclamation respecting the Catholic worship—Council of Trent representative—The Huntly Rebellion . . . . 1–43

## CHAPTER II.

Mary at Lochleven—Hawking excursion—Sends for Knox, who is despatched to Inverary—Opens her first Parliament—Letter, Randolph to Rutland—Knox's services in St. Giles—Interview between Mary and Knox—His treasonable behaviour, and trial for high treason—The Richardson offence, and ballad of the four Maries—Chatelard incident—Sir James Melville and Elizabeth—Letter, Randolph to Cecil—Earl of Cassillis and Crossraguel—Mary's visit to St. Andrews—Her visit to Wemyss—Her visit to Stirling Castle—Her private marriage with Darnley—Convention of Perth and Stirling, and its denouncement by Elizabeth 44–68

## CHAPTER III.

PAGE

Mary at Dunkeld—Meeting of General Assembly, and petitions to Mary to abolish the mass—Moray's plot to seize Mary between Perth and Kinross—She raises a military force to subdue Moray—Meeting of Privy Council, and proclamation on the religious question—Moray fails to appear before the queen to defend himself—Her marriage with Darnley—Embodiment of the queen's troops—Mary's estimate of Moray—He raises twelve hundred men, and the queen five thousand—The Royalists pursue Moray from Glasgow to Hamilton and Edinburgh—Crookston Castle—The queen raises more troops, and marches to Biggar and Dumfries—Moray's troops dispersed—Elizabeth calls up Moray and Hamilton to prove her innocence of the Moray rebellion—Her letter to Mary on the situation—Treaty of Bayonne—Lease of Crossraguel—Marriage of Bothwell—Murder of Riccio—Mary imprisoned in Holyrood—Conspirators ask forgiveness—Riccio Bond . . . . . 69–117

## CHAPTER IV.

Escape of Mary and Darnley from Holyrood—Proclamation requiring the troops to assemble—Collapse of the rebels—Privy Council at Haddington—Morton, Ruthven, and others banished—Froude and Rokesby—Buchanan's History—Privy Council and Riccio's murder—Birth of James VI.—Visit to Mar House—Maitland pardoned—Jedburgh and the queen's illness—Return to Craigmillar, and meeting of conspirators there—Baptism of James—Queen pardons the Riccio murderers—Darnley's Glasgow visit—Mary visits him—Arrival at Kirk-of-Field . . 118–158

## CHAPTER V.

Murder of Darnley—Proclamation by the queen, and reward of £2000—The insulting placards—James Murray their author—Queen retires to Seton House—Elizabeth's hypocritical letter to Mary—Mary's letter to the Archbishop

PAGE

of Glasgow—Resolution of the Privy Council to prosecute Bothwell—Bothwell's trial and acquittal—Opening of Parliament—Act of Toleration passed—Moray's alleged will—His character and general policy—Mary's interview with her son at Stirling—Bond signed at Ainslie's supper—Forged documents relating to the marriage—The lords request the queen to marry Bothwell, and her refusal—Bothwell seizes her, and takes her to Dunbar—Act of Parliament for his forfeiture—Paper compulsorily written by Mary relieving rebels of all responsibility—The Bothwell divorce—Proclamation of banns—The Bothwell marriage—Representations by Mary to the pope—The Bothwell bogus marriage contracts—Pope Pius V. and Queen Mary—The cardinal secretary, and bishop of Mondovi—Parliamentary recital of the marriage—Pope pronounces it null and void . . . . . 159–230

## CHAPTER VI.

War proclamation—Bothwell escapes to Borthwick Castle—Sir Robert Melville's treacherous mission—Letter, Bothwell to Elizabeth—Carberry Hill—Imprisonment of Mary at Lochleven—Meetings of Privy Council—Reward offered for Bothwell—Abdication of Mary by compulsion—Privy Council and the abdication—Coronation of the king—Moray made regent—His first and second visits to Lochleven—Elizabeth threatens to release Mary, and sends for Cecil—Surrender of Edinburgh Castle—Elizabeth's recognition of the regency to be subject to Mary's approval—Moray's Religious Declaration . . . . 231–285

## CHAPTER VII.

How Mary beguiled the time at Lochleven—Her famous tapestry—The General Assembly and petition to Parliament for her release—Meeting of Privy Council to frame an answer—Resolution to accuse Mary of the murder—Meeting of Parliament when Herries objects to the coronation of James—The Casket Letters—Execution of

PAGE

Hay, Hepburn, Powrie, and Dalgleish — Moray sends Mary's jewels to Elizabeth—Her loan of £5000 to Moray, and terms of repayment—Resignation of Archbishop Beton—The escape from Lochleven . . . . . 286–305

CHAPTER VIII.

Battle of Langside and Flight into England . . . . . 306–324

CHAPTER IX.

Wood's intercepted letters, and Elizabeth's treachery—Elizabeth threatened by Mary's supporters, and Mary's forces take the field—Mary injudiciously authorizes their dispersion—Moray required to defend himself before Elizabeth—Lord Herries proceeds to London on Mary's behalf—Mary removed to Bolton Castle—Sir Richard Lowther's hospitality — Knollys denounces Mary's treatment — Herries's return with Elizabeth's quondam conditions for Mary's release—Mary agrees to a conference to try her case—Moray confesses to having received from Morton the silver casket and enclosures—The Privy Council minute on the subject—Moray's indictment against Mary — The York and Westminster conferences — Official report—Report that Mary had become a Protestant—Her letter to the Pope concerning it—Letter, Elizabeth to Knollys . . . . . 325–359

CHAPTER X.

The Casket Letters, and who wrote them? . . . . . 360–384

APPENDIX.

The Riccio Bond . . . . . 385–387

# PHOTOGRAVURES


TO FACE PAGE

MARY STUART—THE HAMILTON PALACE PORTRAIT *Frontispiece*

„ „ THE THIRLSTANE PORTRAIT . . . . 48

„ „ THE CASSILLIS PORTRAIT . . . . . 96

„ „ FROM ORIGINAL, BY SIR A. MORE . 144

„ „ THE JANET PORTRAIT . . . . . 192

„ „ FROM SILVER COIN, 1561 . . . . 240

„ „ THE CZARTORYSKI PORTRAIT . . . 288

„ „ THE VERSAILLES PORTRAIT . . . . 336

---

FACSIMILE OF THE BOND FOR RICCIO'S MURDER . . . 116

# MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

## CHAPTER I.

Early years of Mary—Return from France to Scotland—Her personal appearance—Her first Catholic service in Holyrood—The Catholic religion and her subjects—First State procession from Holyrood—Proclamation respecting her defence of the Protestant faith—First interview with Knox—First entry into Stirling and Perth—Offensive proclamation of the Reformers—Her removal of the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh—Proposed meeting of the two queens—Proclamation respecting the Catholic worship—Council of Trent representative—The Huntly Rebellion.

THE history of the sixteenth century has been very imperfectly recorded, and we have therefore been left in doubt respecting many events the solution of which must ever remain uncertain. Especially is this the case as regards the life and reign of Queen Mary. It may well be asked, What fresh material can now be added? The course of time seems to afford the inquirer a way of access to official papers not formerly available. During the last half-century much has been done to throw

additional light on this question, while the calendars of State papers which have been published have been of great importance. But the question arises, What proof have we that these papers give a correct *résumé* of the events they profess to record? As a matter of fact, we have found some of them false and fraudulent, and the difficulty is where to draw the line. The writers of many of them were unfriendly to the Queen of Scots, were either conspirators or allied to the conspirators for the assassination of Riccio and Darnley, consequently were identified with the policy of screening the murderers and accusing the queen. It must be admitted that these fraudulent documents are skilfully and ingeniously written, and while they cannot now mislead the student of history, they will mislead the casual and unwary. Amongst our national archives they occupy a conspicuous place, and will be duly referred to as we proceed with the narrative.

It may be said of the Queen of Scots that no sovereign who ever occupied the throne of Scotland has left to posterity such an extraordinary record of the battle of life. Ingenious efforts have been made to prove that her reign was a fight for the supremacy of the Catholic faith.

That view, however, cannot be maintained. The events which took place in the short period of her reign were appalling, and if we can help to clear up the principal one, the murder of Darnley, the others must stand or fall by that decision. The first nineteen years of Mary's life are of comparatively little interest to the Scottish people on account of her thirteen years' residence in France. Her life there was without a blemish—happy, cheerful, and bright amongst a people who worshipped her. In 1558 she was married, at the age of sixteen, to the Dauphin, amidst rejoicings and magnificence that are probably unexampled in history. Had it been Mary's lot to remain in France, history would have had another tale to tell, and her star would have set in its noonday brilliancy. That was not to be. If Catherine de Medicis, her mother-in-law, had been friendly with her, she might have been induced to remain in deference to the general consensus of public feeling there. But the enmity of Catherine was equal to that of Elizabeth, and in both cases vanity was at the root of it.

The demise of her husband, Francis II., when they had only been nineteen months married, sounded the death-knell of French influence in Scotland. Shortly after this event, two Scottish envoys sailed for France to invite her to return. These

were Lesley, Bishop of Ross, and the Lord James, afterwards Earl of Moray. The Scottish nobility of that time are stated to have been the "most rapacious and corrupt that ever existed." We are bound to admit that neither before nor since have such a set of unprincipled men disgraced the pages of Scottish history.

Scotland at this period was in a very unsettled and lawless condition. There were two great parties in the State: John Knox at the head of the one, and Mary of Guise, the Queen Regent, at the head of the other, the Catholics. On 11th May, 1559, Knox brought matters to an issue by his preaching at Perth and the demolition of the monasteries. War between these factions followed this event, and it raged fiercely until, on the 10th June, the Queen Regent, worn out with these troubles, died unexpectedly. Elizabeth and Cecil came on the scene with the view of obtaining some advantage, and on the 6th July they concluded what was called the Treaty of Edinburgh, a notable document, which Mary refused to ratify, as it meant the surrender of her right to the English Succession.[1]

[1] "Mary was from all accounts above the common stature. Her features were more Grecian than Roman. Her nose was prominent. Her hair was dark yellow or auburn, and clustered in luxurious ringlets. Her eyes were of a chestnut colour. She had a small

On the 14th of August, 1561, Mary embarked at Calais for Scotland, and was accompanied by a distinguished retinue. She evidently came over with great reluctance, and from a strong sense of duty. Had it been merely a matter of choice, she would have remained where she was. When she went ashore at Leith she was received, so far as can be ascertained, with great coldness and indifference.

The very first act of Elizabeth was to refuse Mary a passport through her dominions on her way from France. This was a gratuitous and an indefensible act, because she would not ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh. Mary resented it, and called in the English ambassador, Throgmorton, and expressed her dissatisfaction with it.

On Sunday, August 24th, the first Sunday after her arrival, she ordered mass to be said in the Chapel Royal, Holyrood, for herself and household. This appeared to be unexpected news to the Protestants. That violent man, Lord

dimple on her chin. Her complexion was clear and very fair, and her person was finely proportioned." The Stuart tartan became her well, and when arrayed in it she received great admiration, but we cannot trace any portrait of her taken in that picturesque costume.—*Castlenau.*

"Her frequent and earnest pleadings with foreign Powers, her justice and mercy to her subjects abroad, cannot be read without arresting interest and attention."—*McNeel Caird.*

Lindsay, put on his armour, and, followed by a troop of exasperated men, attacked the queen's almoner, and would have slain him if he had not fled into the presence of his mistress. Mary exclaimed, "This is a fair commencement of what I have to expect. What will be the end I know not, but I foresee it will be bad." The Lord James thereupon kept the door, so that she was allowed to proceed with her devotions. Before she came to Scotland she had stipulated for the free exercise of her own form of worship in her household, and the Lord James maintained, in opposition to Knox and the Reformers, that this liberty could not possibly be denied to their sovereign.

On the 1st of September Mary sent Maitland to Elizabeth with a present of jewels,[1] amongst which was a diamond cut to the shape of a heart, as an indication that she wished to live with her amicably. Elizabeth, having failed in her dastardly attempt to seize Mary, pocketed her feelings, and sent Randolph to promise her perpetual alliance and to offer her presents. We must view this incident with reserve. Though Elizabeth sent Randolph to offer presents, we are not informed whether he actually delivered them.

[1] *Labanoff.*

In the matter of the Catholic religion, we are informed that the following observations were made by Mary to Throgmorton: "As I told you in the beginning, I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but could wish that they were all as I am, and I trust that they shall have no support to constrain me." Repeatedly in the course of her reign Mary expressed precisely the same sentiments. There is no authority for stating that it was while she was under the influence of the Guises that she formed this resolution. Philippson, who makes this charge, refers to a correspondence with Pius V. This correspondence does not confirm Philippson's opinion: even if it did, Mary's administration gives it a direct negative.

The great State procession from Holyrood to Edinburgh Castle took place on the 2nd of September. Her Majesty was on horseback, accompanied by her four Maries and a large following of the nobles. It was an imposing spectacle. As she was descending the Castle Hill she was met by fifty young men, their bodies covered with yellow silk, arms and legs bare coloured with black, on their faces black vizors, in their mouths rings garnished with precious stones, and with gold chains on their necks, arms,

and legs. There were also sixteen men specially selected, and dressed in black velvet, who carried the canopy under which the queen rode. As she passed through an artificial port made for the occasion, a cloud with four leaves opened and a child descended and gave the queen the keys of the town, with a Bible and psalm-book in purple velvet. When she arrived at the cross there were standing four fair virgins clad in the most heavenly clothing,[1] and from the cross the wine ran out at the spouts in great abundance. Then she went to the Netherbow, where there was a scaffold erected and a dragon. The dragon was burned and a psalm was sung, and the procession then went on to Holyrood. Then she took luncheon with her nobility. There never had been such a merry day in Edinburgh before. Shortly after her arrival she very judiciously dismissed the greater number of her French followers, lest their presence should cause any jealousy or ill feeling. Being desirous of promptly intimating her views on the religious question, she issued a proclamation, in which she assured her subjects of her determination to maintain the Protestant faith, and added that no one should be permitted, under pain of death,

[1] *Taylor.*

to attempt any innovation on the national religion. This proclamation is verified by documents in the State Paper Office, and also by a letter, Randolph to Cecil, January 3, 1563. Too much importance cannot be attached to it, as it has been persistently maintained that Mary, during her brief reign, persecuted the Protestant Church, and some have even said that her death was brought about by that cause. This proclamation disposes of such a charge, while, as a matter of fact, there is no proof that she ever foisted, or attempted to foist, the Catholic religion on any section of her people. It is recorded that one of her first acts after her arrival in Edinburgh was to give her authority to a scheme for providing a settled income to the Protestant clergy out of confiscated Church lands. This was a recognition on her part that the Reformed religion was legally established in Scotland. She was no sooner settled at Holyrood than she expressed a desire to see John Knox. She had heard a good deal about him even before she came to Scotland, and, so far as can be gathered, this interview was at her request. It is an interesting episode in Mary's life, and manifests considerable intellectual ability on her part. It must be remembered that she was only nineteen

years of age, and that Knox is the reporter. She does not seem to have left any record of it herself. The conference took place at Holyrood about a week after her arrival, the Lord James being the only spectator privileged to be present. The great reformer was in his element.

Mary blamed Knox for the violence of his book against female government, entitled, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," and pointed out its evil consequences in exciting to rebellion. She advised him to treat with greater charity those who differed from him in opinion. Says he, "If, madam, to rebuke idolatry, and to persuade the people to worship God according to His word, be to raise subjects against their princes, I stand accused, for so have I acted." Knox's book was directed against female government; but he excused its principles as being more matters of opinion than of conscience, and professed his willingness "to live in contentment under Her Majesty's government as long as she kept her hands undefiled by the blood of the saints." "Daniel and his fellows," he said, "were subjects of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, and yet they refused to be of their religion." "But," interrupted the queen, "these men did not resist." "And yet," said

Knox, "they who obey not the commandment may virtually be said to resist." "Nay," said Mary, "they did not resist with the sword." "That," said Knox, "was simply because they had not the power." "What," said the queen, with great animation, "do you maintain that subjects having power may resist their princes?" "Most assuredly," said Knox, "if princes exceed their bounds. God hath nowhere commanded higher reverence to be given to kings by their subjects than to parents by their children, and if a parent be struck with madness, and attempt to slay his children, they may lawfully bind and disarm him till the frenzy be overpast. Even so with princes." "Well, then," says Mary, "I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you, and not me: they must do what they list, not what I command; whilst I must learn to be subject to them, not they to me." "God forbid," said Knox, "that it should ever be so; far be it from me to command any, or to absolve subjects from their lawful obedience. My only desire is that both princes and subjects should obey God, who has in His Word enjoined kings to be nursing fathers and queens nursing mothers to His Church." "Yes," said Mary, "that is indeed true, but yours is not the Church that I

shall nourish. I will defend the Church of Rome, for I think it is the true Church of God." Knox burst into indignation: "Your will, madam, is no reason, neither doth your thought make that Roman harlot to be the immaculate spouse of Christ. This Church is altogether polluted with every kind of spiritual abomination, as well in doctrine as in manners." "My conscience," said Mary, "is not so." "Conscience," said Knox, "requires knowledge, and I fear of right knowledge you have but little." This personal remark closed the interview.

Even on Knox's own verdict, he was no more than a match for the queen. She showed that she was as well read in the Bible as he was. His manner was overbearing and rude. Probably this was excusable considering the "troublous times," but, as Mary was not forcing her religion on the people, he was not entitled to find fault and be rude because she was a Catholic. He knew nothing about the extent of her knowledge until she overwhelmed him with her scholarly answers. But he was so dogmatic in his opinions that any one who differed from him was subjected to insult. It is said by a modern writer[1] that Knox

[1] *Skelton.*

was "as ruthless as a prophet of Israel, as narrow as a Spanish inquisitor."

The affability and gentleness of the queen's manner had endeared her, even more than her personal attractions, to all who frequented her court.

"She had succeeded by the firm moderation of her manners, not only in giving more than an ordinary degree of popularity to the Government, but, by the polished amenity of her bearing, her powers of conversation and varied accomplishments, she had imparted to the Court at Holyrood a refinement and elegance we in vain look for under the reign of any of her predecessors." [1]

There can be no doubt that it is to the example set by Mary that we are indebted for the refinement which became visible in the manners of Scots society at this period, always, of course, excepting the "associated lords" who were incapable of refinement.

On the 11th September Mary left Holyrood for Stirling, where she was received with every mark of honour. The following week she made her state entry into Perth, where she was also received with great enthusiasm, and presented by the corporation with a golden heart full of pieces

[1] *Glasford Bell.*

of gold. This was an acceptable present, and shows that the people of the "fair city" were at this barbarous period not destitute of a refined and cultivated taste. While she was riding along the streets she took ill, and before she could reach the castle she fainted, and was lifted from her horse and carried in insensible—doubtless the result of the heavy work of the previous few days.

Notwithstanding her leniency in religious matters, Mary was subjected at times to insulting treatment from Knox and the Reformers. The following proclamation will illustrate this.

"*October* 2, 1561. On which day the Provost, Bailies, Council, and all the Deacons of Edinburgh, perceiving the monks, priests, friars, and others of the wicked rabble of the Antichrist the Pope to resort to this town contrary to the tenor of a previous proclamation; therefore ordain the said proclamation charging all monks, friars, priests, nuns, and all such persons to remove themselves out of this town within twenty-four hours, under the pain of carting through the town, burning on the cheek, and perpetual banishment."

This disgraceful proclamation within a month of his conference with the queen, was evidently instigated by Knox. Mary, who for her years possessed great decision of character, took a very dignified course, a course which astonished not a

few of her nobles. Instead of requiring an explanation or censuring the town council of Edinburgh, she peremptorily ordered the council to dismiss from office the provost and bailies, and appoint others in their stead. This was immediately done without a dissentient voice. The town council were astonished, and Knox for the moment was completely silenced. Such a proceeding would be impossible in our day, but at that period Scottish administration was in a corrupt state ; the corporation of Edinburgh particularly so, for they do not seem to have resented this summary dismissal of their provost and magistrates.

The Lord James had two brothers who were priests, Lord John and Lord Robert Stuart. At this period (December) Lord John was married to a sister of Bothwell, and within a month thereafter the Lord James was married to Lady Agnes Keith, daughter of the Earl Marischal. Mary, who always behaved generously on these occasions, gave a banquet in honour of the Lord James, notwithstanding his unkindness to her. She presided at this banquet, and dedicated a toast to the Queen of England, and afterwards gave the cup, which was of gold, as a present to Randolph, the English ambassador. The banquet wound up with a night's dancing.

This year the King of Navarre fell in love with Mary. She said if he had been single she might have been free to listen, but he was already married. Afterwards, when he proposed to divorce his wife, Mary said, "I have a soul, and I would not endanger it by breaking God's laws for all the world could offer." Shortly after this, or about the 1st of March, 1562, Mary went to Falkland, to spend a few weeks in hunting and hawking. Bothwell, who had been banished from Edinburgh for his dissolute habits, returned when he knew the queen had gone, and put himself for a short period under the wing of Knox. Mary disliked him so much that she considered his absence essential for the preservation of peace and the public morals.

About the same time a proposal was made for a meeting of the two queens Mary and Elizabeth, which was to be arranged by Maitland. As usual with Elizabeth, she was for a short time anxious to have it, and directed letters to the noblemen of England to meet her at Edinburgh. A political and religious struggle would appear to have occurred in France, and she took the occasion of this to postpone the meeting indefinitely. It never afterwards took place. It is highly probable that she never seriously intended it, and that she

was merely playing her usual game of "shuttle-cock," a game that she was fond of. The meeting proposed was of national importance, and had it taken place there is every probability it would have been for the welfare of both queens. Elizabeth never regretted its abandonment, but Mary was bitterly disappointed.

This year Mary issued a startling proclamation, intimating that those who took part in the Catholic worship or countenanced it by their presence would be punished with death; but it reserved the queen's mass in her private chapel at Holyrood.[1]

About this time, and just before she started for the north, the Council of Trent had a sitting, and a messenger arrived from the pope inviting her to send a representative. Mary did not feel at liberty to receive him openly, on account of the religious persecution to which she was subjected. Maitland undertook to introduce him into her closet while the Protestant lords were attending sermon. The sermon, however, was unusually brief, and Moray and Randolph returned unexpectedly, and entered Mary's ante-chamber. Fortunately one of the four Maries was acting as a sentinel, and by her promptitude the papal

[1] *Randolph.*

envoy was pushed out through a private door under the tapestry. Randolph, however, caught sight of him, and inquired who he was. Maitland, always unequal to an emergency, "owned the soft impeachment," and admitted the interview with a contraband stranger; but Moray brushed the matter aside as of no consequence, and the subject dropped. This is a curious incident, and shows what force of character can do. Moray was more formidable than Maitland and Randolph when practical matters were on the *tapis*, and on this occasion he took the queen's part. The incident also shows how closely the queen's movements were watched, and how little she could do without the knowledge of Randolph, who was a mere spy of Elizabeth. Had he been an ambassador of integrity nothing could be said against him, but there is abundant proof in the State Paper Office of the false record of events from time to time communicated by him to the English queen.

At this time there was a movement by Bothwell, said to be in revenge for his banishment, to assassinate Moray and Maitland, seize the queen, and put her in Dumbarton Castle, in which it is said Huntly was an accomplice. Whether this was a serious conspiracy is doubtful.

At all events, it is alleged that Arran—who was in the secret, was a favourite of the queen, and had free access to her—communicated it to her, and the scheme went no further. Bothwell and Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, were imprisoned because of it in St. Andrews, thereafter in Edinburgh, whence, after three months, Bothwell made his escape. Tytler's version of this is founded on a letter, Randolph to Cecil, March 31, 1562. According to Randolph, Arran was insane, and Bothwell invented the plot, and, so far from Arran being a favourite of the queen, she regarded him as her enemy. Hosack tells us that Arran accused himself and Bothwell to the queen, and that Arran led an irregular life, and was deranged: also that Bothwell, before any steps could be taken to verify the charge, escaped from Edinburgh, and did not return for two years.

## The Huntly Rebellion, 1562.

One of the most mysterious incidents in the life of the Queen of Scots is what is known as the Huntly Rebellion. The discovery of the actual facts is made more difficult on account of what is unquestionably a false narrative of the

circumstances as contained in Randolph's letters to Cecil, deposited in the State Paper Office. Historians have accepted these letters as *bonâ fide* evidence, but they are not so when scrutinized, and cannot be accepted as historical documents.

There is nothing recorded against Huntly, but it is significant that, on Moray becoming the queen's adviser, Huntly left the court and returned to his estates in the north, where his power and influence were supreme. We are informed[1] that in his official capacity Moray's importunities became intolerable, and to get rid of him the queen sent him to suppress the troubles on the borders, but not before he had extracted a promise of the Earldom of Moray held by Huntly.[2] Having secured this he regarded Huntly as his enemy, and sought his downfall. He had not to wait long for an opportunity. On the 28th of June Sir John Gordon of Findlater, Huntly's third son, had a quarrel with Lord Ogilvy in Edinburgh. Sir John was married to the widow of the previous Lord Ogilvy. Ogilvy was dangerously wounded. Moray ordered both to be sent to the Tolbooth, but Ogilvy was afterwards released. At the end of a month Sir John effected his escape, and returned to the north.

[1] Aboyne Papers. [2] Privy Seal Register, xxxi. 45.

Whether the queen's visit was voluntary or at Moray's instigation we have no means of knowing, but the inference is in favour of the latter theory. There is no reason to doubt that Moray had his programme cut and dry before the expedition started. It must be borne in mind that Huntly's zeal in the Catholic cause was notorious, and quite alien to the queen's wishes, as she was anxious to raise no irritation with the Protestants. She is therefore reported to have treated him with coldness, and this was more than he could stand. In a letter of Randolph to Cecil, October 23rd, he insists that this journey was planned by the queen because of her enmity to Huntly. But we fear the enmity existed only in Randolph's brain. It is recorded that accompanying the queen in the expedition starting from Edinburgh, August 11th, were Moray, Morton, Argyll, Maitland, the Earl Marischal, and Randolph. Evidently this is inaccurate, for by the Privy Council Records the queen had a Privy Council meeting at Stirling on August 14th, evidently *en route* for Aberdeen; while the following day, August 15th, the Privy Council met at Edinburgh, and among those present were Morton, Maitland, and the Earl Marischal. Moray, Argyll, and Randolph

were not in the sederunt, and presumably they were with the queen. The others may have followed, but they did not accompany her. This meeting resolved that the lords who should constantly wait on the queen should be four in number, and that they should remain with her two months: Argyll, Atholl, Bothwell, and the Earl Marischal the first two months; Morton, Huntly, Errol, and Erskine the second two; and Moray, Hamilton, Glencairn, and Montrose the third two; meetings of Privy Council to take place on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday every week, from 8 to 11 a.m. and from 2 to 5 p.m. A meeting of the Privy Council was held at Edzell, on the way to Aberdeen, on the 25th of August.

The queen and her escort reached Old Aberdeen on the 27th of August. Old Aberdeen was at that time, as it still is, a seat of learning, but in size was a mere hamlet. It is believed that the queen was accommodated in the house of the Principal of King's College, and it is stated, as indicating the scarcity of room, that Maitland and Randolph had to sleep in one bed.

Here she was met and welcomed by the Earl and Countess of Huntly. The countess begged Mary to pardon her son. Mary declined unless

he delivered himself up to the authorities, and to that the countess agreed. Sir John Gordon surrendered, and on his way to Stirling as a prisoner he heard that his enemy Erskine, Moray's uncle, was to be his keeper, and that foul play might be expected. He made his escape, returned to the north, and resolved to defend himself. Mary was invited by the earl and countess to visit them at Huntly, but she declined. This gave much vexation, particularly as no reason was offered. Randolph's letters to Cecil about this event are evidently written in Moray's interest. Let us look at that dated September 18th.

"The queen had much cause for misliking the Earl of Huntly, whose extortions have been so great, and other manifest tokens of disobedience, such as was no longer to be borne. Intending to reform them, she has found in him and his two eldest sons (the lairds of Gordon and Findlater) open disobedience, so far that they have taken arms and kept house against her."

When we scrutinize this letter no one could seriously suppose that it afforded material for defending Mary's conduct. Yet in Moray's interest a defence was absolutely essential. What were the "extortions" referred to? These are left to the reader's conjecture. It is not the case that before this rebellion Huntly and his sons

"kept house against her." But so far as we can discover, the rebellion and the "closing the house against her" were not Huntly's doing at all. It rather appears that Moray's avaricious conduct and the absolute control he exercised over the queen were strong factors in the case. The queen seems to have had confidence in Moray, misplaced though it was, and, being only twenty years of age, she allowed herself to be led by him. She was not warranted in treating Huntly as she did, even if Moray requested her. She ought to have resented his conduct when she saw the extent to which his avarice was leading him.

Great preparations had been made by Huntly for the queen's reception, but all in vain. She visited the Garioch district, then Rothiemay and Elgin. Then she crossed the Spey on the 10th of September, and visited Darnaway Castle, the residence of Moray. On the following day she held a Privy Council, when he presented his official appointment and was made Earl of Moray. At this meeting Sir John Gordon was accused of contempt and disobedience, committed by him in escaping from justice, for committing an assault on Ogilvy, and for raising rebellion. The meeting ordained Gordon and his "pretended spouse Lady Findlater," to deliver up the houses and

fortresses of Findlater and Auchendune, and to remove therefrom within twenty-four hours after the charge. The fact that this resolution was adopted in Moray's house gives it much suspicion. The sederunt as recorded did not include the queen. The reason of her absence is not stated.

Next day Moray took the queen to Inverness, and demanded admission to the Castle, but the gates were shut against her. Huntly's eldest son was the keeper, and his deputy, Captain Alexander Gordon, his brother, refused to admit Mary without the order of his chief. Mary had to find lodgings in the town. The Gordons, hearing of this awkward proceeding, sent orders to the keeper to surrender at once. It was too late, as, immediately on the refusal to admit the queen, Moray attacked it, and took it by storm,—not a serious undertaking, seeing it contained only twelve men. The first thing Moray did was to execute the heroic young deputy-governor, with five of his men, and set his head on the castle wall, a proceeding that filled the inhabitants with horror. Lord Gordon, the hereditary keeper, was with his father-in-law, the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace, and, probably relying on the queen's visit to his father, had neglected to order her admission

The next move in this unfortunate episode was an attack, at the queen's instance, on Findlater Castle; but Sir John Gordon with a band of followers came to the rescue during the night, and defeated the queen's troops. This so enraged the queen that, two days later, the Gordons were put to the horn. The surrender of Strathbogie was demanded and refused. Then all those who were at feud with Huntly were set at liberty, on condition that they attacked him. This was followed by an order for Huntly's arrest.[1] He fled, but the countess nobly opened her doors, and gave hospitality to all Mary's troopers and spies. They ate and drank liberally; they searched the house, but could find no treasonable papers. Huntly and his son, failing to appear in answer to the proclamation, were proclaimed rebels. Unwilling to rebel against his sovereign, Huntly, on the 20th of October, sent the countess to Aberdeen, in order to get admission to the queen's presence, that she might prove her husband's innocence. She was a very noble lady, but the crafty Moray would not allow her to come within two miles of Aberdeen, and she returned with a heavy heart. Huntly thereupon sent a messenger to inform

[1] Aboyne Papers.

the queen that he would give himself up till his case was tried by an impartial tribunal, and that he would accept the result. This generous offer was rejected, which doubtless was Moray's doing, and indicates his determination to have Huntly removed with or without cause. Driven to despair, he determined to fight for his life. He assembled his followers, numbering five hundred, and resolved to offer battle to the Royal troops at Aberdeen.

At this crisis a Privy Council meeting was held at Aberdeen, Moray again directing the course of events. It was resolved that, as Huntly continues in—

"his treasonable conspiracies, and is coming forward towards Aberdeen to pursue our sovereign lady's person, her grace, to resist his wicked enterprise, is to pass forward to meet him in the plain fields."

Errol, Lord Forbes, Saltoun, Leslie, and Boquhan, were called in and consulted, and agreed to proceed against Huntly. To make matters sure, the queen—

"gives full power to her dearest brother James Earl of Moray and others to press forward to where Huntly and his followers shall be on the 27th of October: to display the queen's banner, and to pursue Huntly and his followers . . . to be punished for their treasonable

coming in plain battle, and for other crimes committed by them before."

There is no evidence that the charge against Huntly in this resolution had the slightest foundation. Moray, whose success depended on his promptitude, intercepted Huntly on the following day, October 28th, twelve miles west of Aberdeen, at the head of two thousand men, and gave battle at Corrichie Burn. The superiority and numbers of Moray's troops disheartened Huntly's men, and, though they heroically defeated Moray's vanguard, they eventually fled from the field. Huntly and his two sons, Sir John and Adam Gordon, stood their ground nobly, and disdained to surrender, but were overpowered and seized. Huntly was no sooner taken prisoner, and placed on horseback, than he expired without uttering a word. Whether he died a natural death must remain an unsolved question. His body was carried to Edinburgh. His daughter, Lady Forbes, reverently covered it, and said, "What stability is there in human things? Here lieth he who, yesterday was esteemed the richest, the wisest, and the greatest man in Scotland." Huntly's body was cruelly treated, and not buried for some months. Moray sent a message to the queen, informing her of his victory over Huntly,

and with unqualified hypocrisy asked her to give thanks to God for his deliverance. Mary had by this time got some notion of Moray's motives, and she regretted that she had refused the invitation and submission of Lord and Lady Huntly; specially for not seeing the countess, and for having behaved so ungraciously as to cause Huntly to be disloyal. Moray caused Sir John Gordon to be led through the streets of Aberdeen bound with ropes like a common criminal, and he placed the queen at the window to see him pass. Moray assured her that letters were found in Sir John's pockets stating "that, if his father had reached Aberdeen, he intended burning the castle with her and all her company in it." There is no proof that such letters ever were in existence. Sir John was tried for high treason, found guilty, and sentenced to be executed. Whether this had the queen's approval is not known. Some writers are of opinion that she was probably induced to treat Sir John with rigour on account of his conduct to his wife, Elizabeth Gordon; for within a month after his marriage he treated her with neglect, and, because she would not resign her life rent of Findlater, he locked her up in a close chamber.[1]

[1] Scottish State Papers, vol. vii. No. 79.

In the case of Adam Gordon, a youth of seventeen, Mary positively forbade his execution, and he lived to show his gratitude to her. On the same day, six other gentlemen of the name of Gordon are stated to have been executed in Aberdeen by Moray's orders ; and, to complete the disgusting programme, Morton was appointed Lord Chancellor in Huntly's room. And so the great Huntly family were cruelly massacred evidently for no other reason than that James Stuart should get possession of the Moray estates with their large revenues. Mary has been severely taken to task for the part she played in this incident, and we do not defend her. Whatever may have been Moray's influence, she was not warranted in treating Huntly and his family in the way she did, and for such an act she cannot be excused. She repented of it afterwards, and reinstated his son in the Aberdeenshire estates, which are held by the family to this day. Shortly after these events Mary and her retinue returned to Holyrood.

The inaccuracy of the historians of the last and present century is daily demonstrated by the discovery of documents in public and private custody, throwing a totally different complexion on the political and domestic condition of our

country, and it is not too much to say that a new history of Scotland has become an absolute necessity.[1]

The following letter, Randolph to Cecil, written at this date, is of some interest as giving his version of this incident :—

"Aberdeen, October 23, 1562.

". . . The Earl of Huntly on Saturday last was put to the horn, which is their manner to denounce men traitors and rebels to the prince. Two nights before that, John Gordon, with seven or eight score horse, hearing that the captain and certain of the soldiers did lie in a little village from their fellows and places where they were appointed to, as Findlater and Auchendune, assailed them in the night, and took the captain in his bed, and from the soldiers all their harquebuses to the number of fifty-six, and so dismissed them. The captain they have taken with them, of whom there is little account made. He is one of Captain James Stewart's sons that is now captain of the guard. The house of Strathbogie was demanded to be delivered into the queen's hands, and refused by Huntly, which now the queen purposeth to take by force; for this purpose there are levied two hundred soldiers more than were before. Divers of the noblemen that attend upon the queen have sent for their tenants and friends, some more, some fewer, as these are hospitable to entertain. The earl for his part maketh himself as strong as he can in a

[1] Aboyne Papers.

house that he hath in the Highlands, called Badenoch, whither it is thought impossible to bring either men or artillery in the winter. He proposes to make the queen weary of this country by reason of the weather and extreme dearth of all things. Her resolution is either never to depart out of this country, or to leave it in such quietness that she will be better known to be their sovereign hereafter.

"The Lord Gordon is with the duke whose daughter he married. His purpose is either to persuade him to take part with his father, or else he purposeth to remain with him. Huntly's wife came, on Tuesday last, within two miles of this town, in order to present herself to the queen, and being told by a gentleman, whom she sent before, that the queen would not speak with her, returned to Strathbogie. Divers gentlemen of Huntly's surname have given pledges, and many of them promised not to depart out of this town, or any way to support their chief until they be freely set at liberty and all troubles ended at their sovereign's pleasure. Argyle departed this day homeward to raise troops against Huntly. So that I do not know who is his friend or who will venture to take his part if the duke do not. Bothwell hath lately been at Leith with divers of his friends; he pretendeth good service unto his sovereign, I think to little effect. The queen's allowance doth not in this town, nor hath it the most part of this journey, defrayed the charges of my meat, my men's, and my horses. What other occasions there are of expenses your honour can better consider than I can write."

And again, on October 28th, Randolph writes to Cecil :—

"Huntly, having assembled to the number of six hundred persons, marcheth towards Aberdeen, with intent to have apprehended the queen, and to have done with the rest at his will. Moray, Atholl, Morton, and as many others as were in this town, to the number of two thousand or there about, marched towards the place where he encamped, twelve miles from here, and so environed him that he could no way escape. After some defence made by those that were about him, he yielded himself, as also John Gordon, his son, the author of all these troubles, and one other son named Adam Gordon, seventeen years of age, which two are both brought into this town alive; but the earl, after he was taken, without either blow or stroke, being set upon horseback, suddenly falleth from his horse dead. He is, notwithstanding, brought into the town, as also his two sons, of which the one is thought shall be tried to-morrow. Some favour may be shown with the other, by reason of his years. Of those who remained there were slain near unto six score; of the other party not one man, but divers hurt, and many horses slain. These things your honour may assure yourself, though I was not there, being required to attend on the queen; yet had I two servants there, besides whose report, I have seen the dead body of the earl, and saw the others brought into the town."

It is of importance to notice Randolph's inaccuracies. The queen's troops attacked

Findlater Castle, and were defeated by Sir John Gordon, which incident greatly enraged the queen. This is the report we have from various authorities. According to Randolph there was no fighting at all. The queen's troops were quietly relieved of their arms, and the captain captured in bed. That Huntly had escaped "to a house in the Highlands called Badenoch" is another illustration of Randolph's reckless way of writing. It was well known that Huntly had fled there for his life. Randolph's geography was evidently as unreliable as his correspondence, when Badenoch, according to him, was "a house in the Highlands." To say that "he purposeth to make the queen weary of this country by reason of the weather," etc., is a malicious libel on Huntly. That nobleman was devoted to the queen, and would have laid down his life for her; but it did not suit Randolph to tell the truth. Huntly was not responsible for his son's doings, nor was he an accomplice of his son. On the contrary, he intimated to the queen that if she commanded him to attack Findlater Castle, his son's residence, he would do it at once. It is not correct, therefore, to say, as Randolph has done, "that his father's advice and counsel was thereunto." And where is the proof that Huntly pressed the

duke to take his part? Randolph is speaking on the authority of the messenger, who carried a letter, and no reliance can be placed on that. He had no means of knowing the nature of the mission of Lord Gordon to the duke, yet he writes Cecil: "His purpose is either to persuade him to take part with his father, or else he purposeth to remain with him as guiltless of what shall be enterprised by any other." This is in direct opposition to the Aboyne Papers, which inform us that the queen was expected to pay a prolonged visit to Huntly at Strathbogie; and, as a proof that Huntly had no knowledge of a rebellion, his eldest son expected him to accompany the queen to Inverness, and in the circumstances no word was sent to the castellan to open the gates to her. When Lady Huntly went on that memorable occasion to see the queen and intercede for her husband, she was met by a special messenger of Moray's, two miles from Aberdeen, and requested not to proceed farther. What does Randolph say? "Being told by a gentleman, whom she sent before, that the queen would not speak with her, returned," etc. In this version the desire to keep Moray in the background is conspicuous. Nor have we any confirmation of the assertion "that Argyll departed home to raise

troops to fight Huntly." Argyll was not at the Corrichie engagement, nor is there any record that he attempted to fight Huntly. Argyll was not a fighting man, and the assertion is extremely improbable. Nor is it true that Huntly and his two sons surrendered. They fought bravely, but were overpowered by overwhelming numbers, and taken prisoners. Huntly's object was not, as stated, to apprehend the queen, but to subdue Moray, who was thirsting for his life. He had no intention of apprehending the queen. The last act of this drama was the trial of the deceased nobleman after he was dead, as is briefly reported in the Rutland MSS. at Belvoir. The coffin was set upright in court, as if the earl stood upon his feet. His accusation was read, his proctor answering for him. He was found guilty, the cloth that covered the coffin torn away, and his armorial bearings torn to pieces before the people. Of all this Moray was the author, and a more disgraceful act will not be found in history.

Moray's next move was to take steps for the apprehension of Huntly's eldest son, the son-in-law of Hamilton, duke of Chatelherault. On the queen's journey home she was met at Dundee by the duke, who begged her to spare Gordon, as

he had nothing to do with the late revolt, nor with Sir John's misdemeanour, though he was marked out as a victim of Moray. The queen's conduct is mysterious. She would not grant the duke's request, but ordered Gordon to stand his trial.

In the Lansdowne MSS. there is a curious letter from Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, Elizabeth's ambassador in France, dated the 4th of December, 1562. It contains the statement that "Huntly meant to have burned the Queen of Scots in her lodging." This refers to her lodging in the Earl Marischal's house, Aberdeen. The statement must have been communicated to Cecil by Randolph, as it is only to be found in his letter, but it was a splendid excuse for Moray's conduct. The letter goes on to say—

"Since the sealing up of the queen's letters I had a letter from Newhaven, signifying that the Prince of Condè should be within seven leagues of Rome. Herewith I send you letters to the prince from the queen's majesty. I send you also another open letter in cypher, being the cypher which Sir Nicholas Throgmorton sent to serve for the prince. The Earl of Huntly's son, Thomas Gordon, hath confessed that his father meant to have burned the Queen of Scots in her lodging, and so to have brought the crown to the duke, whom he meant to have directed at his will. This Thomas Gordon is beheaded. All the realm is quiet, thanks be to God."

Some years afterwards, viz. in 1569, Mary, who was then in captivity, writing to La Mothe Fénelon, the French ambassador, said—

"I believe Huntly will do as he has said, for, besides the obligation he owes me for his life and property, which I have given him, he has a deadly feud with Moray, who has done to death his father and his brother, and would do the like to him if he could, and exterminate his house."

A modern writer, referring to this matter very recently, says—

"How the queen was in the first instance deceived, and how she was afterwards undeceived, does not seem to be clear. The fact, however, remains, that she was misled into co-operating in the ruin of those who were her best friends; and even if they had not been so, political prudence might have taught her to cherish Huntly and his adherents as potential ministers of Scotland." [1]

In the Hamilton Papers published by the crown there is an anonymous letter addressed to Randolph which is very significant as to his want of integrity:—

"God knoweth but that the same hand that wrote to Belshazzar on the wall may accuse you when you come to the end of your mission. Therefore, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Randolph, take heed to your doings, because if you hold on you will not be unaccused in the

[1] *Father Pollen.*

towns, the evil officers will 'put a Hell on you' that will not be easily slaked. Some Scotsmen will be true when you think least, though there be some scabbed sheep among us."

Three months after the battle of Corrichie, Lord George Gordon, who was seized and imprisoned for treason, was brought up, by Moray's order, for trial, and condemned to be executed, his body to be quartered and disposed of at the queen's pleasure—another of the brutal deeds of Moray which cannot be excused. Mary, displeased at the iniquity of the sentence, refused to sign the execution warrant. What did Moray do? It was his custom to bring the queen daily a bundle of letters for signature, and she usually signed them without reading them, their contents being known to her before—Moray undertaking that they were all in order. Moray included in his next batch of letters, surreptitiously, Gordon's death warrant, which was signed in common with the other papers. He sent it to the governor of Dunbar Castle, who was astounded. He delayed the execution till he would personally see the queen, and he posted off at once. On his arrival at Holyrood he was ushered into the queen's bedroom, as the queen had retired for the night. On his knees he said he had obeyed her order. "What order?" she said. "For striking off

Gordon's head." She burst into tears, and reproached him for doing so. He showed her the order, signed by her own hand. "This is my brother's subtilty," she exclaimed, "who, without my knowledge or consent, hath abused me in this and many other things." "It is good," said the governor, "that I was not too hasty—and resolved to know your majesty's will from your own mouth." Mary, finding the execution had not taken place, was in a transport of joy, tore the paper to pieces, commended the prudence of the governor, and enjoined him to give no credit to any instrument touching Gordon, but only to her own word, spoken by herself in his hearing. Young Gordon was eventually restored to his estates. This act of Moray in getting the queen's signature surreptitiously in order to have Gordon executed is very significant, and greatly facilitates the solution of the problem of the so-called Huntly rebellion. Hosack is of opinion that this expedition to the north was not planned by Moray, but by the queen, and he states this on the authority of Randolph. We cannot endorse this view. We must consider the ambitious character and motives of Moray, and the duplicity of Randolph. Moray had the greatest possible interest in the expedition. Hosack speaks of the

rash attempt of Huntly, that completely took the royal party by surprise. That Huntly made a rash attempt is not at all clear. He exhausted every effort to get an audience of the queen. Nothing was left for him but to do what he did. It is pointed out by this historian that, so long as Mary was a widow, Randolph wrote favourable reports of her to Elizabeth, and after Darnley came on the scene "he painted her in colours less and less attractive, until the fair original was entirely lost." Then, when Mary discovered that Randolph was playing double, and supplying the conspirators with money while professing friendship to her, she dismissed him from her dominions, but he returned after a short period of absence. Randolph's duplicity to the queen began long before Darnley appeared on the scene.

## CHAPTER II.

Mary at Lochleven—Hawking excursion—Sends for Knox, who is despatched to Inverary—Opens her first Parliament—Letter, Randolph to Rutland—Knox's services in St. Giles—Interview between Mary and Knox—His treasonable behaviour, and trial for high treason—The Richardson offence, and ballad of the four Maries—Chatelard incident—Sir James Melville and Elizabeth—Visits the Highlands—Letter, Randolph to Cecil—Earl of Cassillis and Crossraguel—Mary's visit to St. Andrews—Her visit to Wemyss—Her visit to Stirling Castle—Her private marriage with Darnley—Convention of Perth and Stirling, and its denouncement by Elizabeth.

In the middle of April the queen went to Lochleven on a hawking excursion, and to be away from the cares of State. Knox waited on her, by order of the General Assembly, as to the laxity with which the recently enacted penal statutes were enforced against the Catholics. A great debate was the result. Next morning she sent for him. He obeyed her request, and their subject of conversation was the quarrel between the Earl and Countess of Argyll, between whom a divorce had been proposed. Knox informed her that he had been spoken to about this before, and he believed the two were now reconciled. Mary

replied, "that it was worse with them than he supposed;" adding, "Do this for my sake, as once again to put them at unity; and if she behave not herself as she ought to do, she shall find no favour of me; but in any wise let not my lord know that I have called your attention to this matter, for I would be very sorry to offend him, in that or any other thing." It is supposed that Knox on this occasion got the present of a silver watch from the queen, presumably for the services indicated. In Mary's subsequent history this lady, who was Moray's sister, was one of the most intimate friends of the queen, and did some noble deeds on her behalf—she was with the queen on the night of the Riccio murder. But her husband's loyalty was not satisfactory, nor could it be depended on, probably because he was a Protestant and she was a Catholic.

After her Lochleven holiday Mary went to Edinburgh, to open in person her first Parliament, on May 26, 1563. She rode from Holyrood to Parliament House in robes of State. Hamilton, Argyll, and Moray carried respectively the crown, sceptre, and sword. She opened Parliament with a vigorous little speech of her own composition, delivered eloquently in the Scottish language. She was an interesting *extempore* speaker, and

with her foreign accent her speech created great applause.

Parliament rose on the 4th of June, and Mary went to Inverary, on a visit to the Countess of Argyll, where she stayed three weeks. Then she went to their residence on the Clyde (Roseneath), where she stayed a night, after which she went to Eglinton Castle, on a visit to the Earl of Eglinton. After this she spent a fortnight in Glasgow; then to St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright. She was attended on these visits by her ladies and officers of State, and performed the journeys all on horseback. Shortly afterwards she paid a visit to Drummond Castle, and then went to Glenfinlas, near Callander, where she had some delightful sport in hunting.[1]

An interesting description is given by Randolph in a letter preserved in the collection of the Hist. Man. Commission :—

*Randolph to the Earl of Rutland.*

Edinburgh, June 10, 1563.

The queen hath held her Parliament, the solemnity of which hath been very great. The 26th of May her grace rode into the Parliament House in this order:

[1] In July she spent several days in Glasgow: July 3, 8, 12, 13, 14 and 25 (*Marwick*). She spent nearly a fortnight in Glasgow (*Strickland*).

gentlemen, barons, lords, and earls; after them the trumpeters and music, heralds; then the Earl of Moray, who carried the sword, Argyll the sceptre, and the Duke (Hamilton) the crown royal. Then followed the Queen in her Parliament robes, and a rich crown upon her head; noblemen's wives in order of rank, twelve in number, the four Maries demoiselles of honour. A fairer sight was never seen. There followed as many more, so wonderful in beauty that I know not what court may be compared to them. The beauty, I assure your lordship, this day was there of the whole realm. Having received her place in Parliament, and silence being commanded, she delivered with singular good grace an oration, short, and very pretty, whereof I send your lordship a copy, as I am sure she made it herself, and deserved great praise in uttering the same. I had that day the honour to convey her grace to the Parliament House, and to be present at the whole proceedings.

During the sittings of this parliament Knox preached one of his characteristic sermons in St. Giles' Church, concluding with the hope that, as her majesty was soon to be married, the nobility, if they regarded the safety of their country, would prevent her forming an alliance with a Papist. This discourse occasioned the last amicable interview that Mary had with Knox. She summoned him to her presence, and John Erskine of Dun was allowed to enter the apartment with him. Knox said to her, "When it pleased God to

deliver her from the bondage of darkness and error wherein she had been nourished, she would not find the liberty of his tongue offensive. In the pulpit he was not his own master, but the servant of Him Who commanded that he shall flatter no flesh on the face of the earth." Mary replied that she wished none of his flattery, but requested to know what rank he held in the kingdom to entitle him to interfere with her marriage. To which he made the astute reply, that, as a useful member of the Commonwealth, it became him to teach her nobility, who were too partial towards her, their duty. Mary resented Knox's plain speaking, and commanded him to leave her presence. In December following, during her absence at Stirling, her household were set upon, during their devotions in the chapel of Holyrood, by a number of Protestants, who burst in and drove the priests from the altar. The magistrates had to be called in to quell the riot, and two of the ringleaders, Cranston and Armstrong, members of Knox's congregation, were thrown into prison. How did Knox behave? He determined to intimidate the judges before whom the case was tried, by sending letters to those of his persuasion requesting them to come to Edinburgh on the day of the trial. This proceeding was

regarded as high treason, and Knox was summoned before a convention of the nobles to take his trial.

Mary returned to Edinburgh in December to celebrate her twenty-first birthday. On this occasion Elizabeth sent her, by Randolph, the present of a diamond; but Mary, on account of indisposition, was unable to see him, and he asked the Countess of Argyll to give it to her.

Knox's trial took place in Holyrood, before a large assembly, the queen being seated at the head of the table. Knox stood uncovered at the foot. Maitland conducted the prosecution, and read the indictment, after which he asked Knox if he did not repent, and was not heartily sorry that he wrote such a letter. Knox gave Maitland a sharp reminder of the time when he formed a leading member in previous conventions convened in defiance of the authority of the Crown. "What is this?" interrupted the queen, turning to Maitland. "Methinks you trifle with him. Who gave him authority to make convention of my lieges? Is not this treason?" "No, madam," said Ruthven, "for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayers and sermons almost daily; and whatever your grace or others will think thereof, we think it no treason." "Hold your peace," said the queen, "and let him answer

for himself." Says Knox: "I began to reason with the secretary, whom I take to be a better dialectician than your grace, that all convocations are not unlawful; and now my Lord Ruthven hath given the instance which your grace will not deny." "I will say nothing," said Mary, "against your religion, nor against your convening to your sermons, but what authority have you to convene my subjects without my order?" Knox alleged "that he had the authority of the Kirk for what he had done, and therefore could not be in the wrong." Says the queen, "Is it not treason, my lords, to accuse a prince of cruelty? I think there be Acts of Parliament against such whisperers." "Is it lawful for me, madam, to answer for myself?" said Knox, "or shall I be condemned before I be heard?" "Say what you can," returned she, "for I think ye have enough to do." His defence was that he alluded not to her in his letter, nor yet to her cruelty, but to the cruelty of the Papists. The queen pardoned him, notwithstanding all she had suffered from him. Knox, having got her decision, still could not abstain from being rude and disagreeable. He said, "I thank God and the queen's majesty, and, madam, I pray God to purge your heart from papistry, and to preserve you from the counsel

of flatterers." The queen retired without taking any notice of his rudeness.

Mary's French apothecary is alleged to have seduced one of her female attendants, a country-woman of his own, and persuaded the woman to kill the child. This was in Holyrood. The crime was detected, and both persons, being tried and convicted, were executed, to the great vexation and grief of Mary and her household. The same week that this occurred, Richardson, who is described as the lord treasurer, was for a similar act ordered to stand in a white sheet in St. Giles' Church during divine service. It was a disgraceful state of the administration of the law when Mary's domestics were hanged, and Richardson, because he was a minister of State, got off, both parties having committed the same crime. On this tragedy was founded the ballad of "the Four Maries, or Mary Hamilton," in which the anonymous author has ignorantly transformed the French girl into one of the Four Maries. By the 12th of January, Mary was able to give a brilliant entertainment to the court, when she initiated the lords and ladies into the French comedy, "The Feast of the Bean." The bean was concealed in the twelfth cake, and whoever got it was treated as king or queen for the night. On this

occasion it fell to Mary Fleming. The queen honoured the scene by dressing the young lady in her own royal robes and her choicest jewels, wearing none herself that evening, so that the "Queen of the Bean" might shine without a competitor. This was a very generous act on the part of the queen. A ball followed, and Randolph led off the dance with Mary Beton. He fell in love with that young lady, and courted her for some time, though he never married her.

The reign of Mary in Scotland prior to her captivity lasted six years, and excepting the nineteen months of her married life with Darnley, she was in mourning all that period. At the Privy Council she always presided, and it was her usual practice to have a piece of needlework in her hand, with which she employed herself at intervals in the debate. Like Queen Victoria, she allowed nothing to pass into law without her consent. She was a great student of history, and had a good library at Holyrood. The gardens there were pretty large, and she was fond of the open air and outdoor exercise, and took full advantage of it. In the gardens of Holyrood, Falkland, and Linlithgow she indulged in her favourite pastime, archery—a game that had many attractions for her. She also enjoyed tilting at the ring, made her nobles have

competitions, and had great crowds on the sands at Leith to witness them. She was also a chess-player, and had few equals at that intellectual game. In all these matters Mary was an expert, but the introduction to her court of the "associated lords," who became traitors, put an end to her welfare and happiness.

It was in this year that the tragic incident of the poet Chatelard took place. This young man had ingratiated himself into the queen's favour by his fine compositions. It is even said that the queen responded to these also in verse. Following on this, he one night at Holyrood concealed himself in her bedchamber, and was ordered immediately to quit the court. Two days afterwards he followed the queen secretly to Burntisland, and was again found concealed in her bedroom. Moray was called in, and the young man was seized and put in prison. For this crime he was condemned and executed. This seems a severe punishment, but the crime was without excuse, being an outrage on the queen. At this time it is recorded that the Privy Council asked her to abstain from practising the rites of her religion. She became irritated, and requested Moray to take the thankless burden of the government on his own shoulders. Moray

was not quite prepared for that, and asked leave of absence to go into Fife, where he remained some weeks. Mary seems to have been constantly irritated by the demands made upon her to change her religion, and she cannot be blamed for speaking to Moray as she did. Had she been ordering her subjects to adopt the Catholic faith, that would have justified the nobles in remonstrating with her; but what they wanted was a discontinuance of the Catholic religion in her own household. It was an unreasonable request, seeing she stipulated for the exercise of it to this extent when she came over from France.

In May Sir James Melville returned from France, and found Mary at Perth or St. Johnstoun. Melville was a clever ambassador, with a good vein of humour, and very loyal and devoted to Mary. He was sent by her to Elizabeth relative to matrimonial affairs with Darnley. The fortnight he spent at Hampton Court was a source of great amusement to him. Elizabeth became fond of him, and had him with her almost constantly during that time. They had a great deal of playful conversation. She had red hair, and one day she asked him whether she or Mary had the finest hair, and which of the two was the more beautiful. Melville facetiously replied that she

was the fairest queen in England, and Mary the fairest in Scotland—they were both the fairest ladies of their courts, that she was whiter, but Mary was very lissome. Which, she asked, was the taller? Melville said the Queen of Scots; on which Elizabeth remarked that Mary was ower high, but she, Elizabeth, was neither ower high nor ower low. Melville pointed out some of Mary's accomplishments; whereupon, next day, he was called in to hear Elizabeth play upon the virginals. Afterwards she insisted on him seeing her dance, and, when it was over, she asked whether she or Mary danced best; Melville replied, that the queen danced not so high and disposedly as she did. Darnley appears to have been present at some of these interviews. Elizabeth asked Melville how he liked Lord Robert Dudley, now Earl of Leicester, who had been proposed by her as a husband for Mary. Melville observed that, as he was a worthy subject, he was happy in having encountered a princess that could discern and reward good service. "Yet," she said, pointing to Darnley, "ye like better yonder lang lad;" to which Melville replied, that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, who was more like a woman than a man, for he was very rusty, beardless, and ladyfaced. And

so the interview terminated. It gives us one of the best insights we have into the character of Elizabeth, while Melville manifested great tact in his ingenious answers.

In June the queen went to the Highlands on a pleasure excursion, and to indulge in outdoor exercise, of which she never wearied. She had great sport, as the Highland chiefs were devoted to her, and their ghillies swept forward game of all kinds. She was a swift rider, and kept up with the foremost of the chiefs. It is recorded that she held some courts of justice here, and also had receptions for the Highland ladies who could not go to Edinburgh, but we have no details of these. She also convened a music meeting, and offered a harp as a prize to the best performer. It is recorded that this competition duly came off, and that the prize was won by Beatrice Gardyne of Banchory, to whom the queen said in presenting it: "You alone are worthy to possess the instrument you touch so well." This harp was much prized by the fair winner as long as she lived, and by her posterity afterwards. It eventually found its way into the family of the Robertsons of Lude, thereafter into that of the Stewarts of Dalguise, and is now in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.

The queen remained about three months in the Highlands, either at Blair Castle or Dunkeld House, and returned to Holyrood as soon as Lennox had arrived from England and had his banishment recalled. On the 23rd of September Lennox, having the queen's instructions to present himself at court, rode in state to Holyrood, preceded by twelve gentlemen in velvet coats and chains. Behind him thirty others well mounted. The queen received him graciously, but her nobles were displeased at seeing such demonstration bestowed on a traitor "who had sold the queen and her realm in her infancy for English gold." On the 6th of December following, the queen convened a parliament for the purpose of restoring him to his titles and estates after twenty years of forfeiture. In this she was seconded by Maitland and others, but there were several opponents to reckon with, such as Moray, Hamilton, and Argyll. The restoration of Lennox was proclaimed by five heralds at the market cross of Edinburgh. The following unpublished letter, Randolph to Cecil, Oct. 24, 1564, is important as giving us an insight into Mary's private life, as well as that of Lennox. It is slightly condensed.

I dined that day with the Earl of Lennox. I found

nothing less for the beautifying and furniture of his lodging than what your honour hath heard by report. Two chambers very well furnished, one specially rich and fair bed where his lordship lieth himself, and a passage made through the wall to come the next way into the court when he will. There dined with him the Earl of Atholl, in whom he reposeth singular trust. They are seldom asunder, saving when Lennox is at sermon. There was also his brother, the Bishop of Caithness, a Protestant who sometimes preacheth. His lordship's cheer is great, and his house held many, though he has despatched divers of his train away. He disburses money very fast, and of his £700 he brought with him I am sure that much is not left. If he tarry long, Lennox perchance may be to him a dear purchase. He gave the queen a marvellous fair and rich jewel, whereof there is made no small account. He presented also each of the Maries with such pretty things as he thought fittest for them—a clock and a dial curiously wrought and set with stones, and a looking-glass very richly set with stones in the four metals; to Maitland a very fair diamond in a ring; to Atholl another, as also somewhat to his wife. I know not what to divers others, but to Moray nothing. Says the queen "Touching the sending of some of mine to confer with Bedford, I must take advice with my brother and Maitland, and I doubt not but we shall soon resolve what is to be done." She asked me by name almost for every nobleman who attends the court, what ladies there were there, etc., and "must thank my good sister for her kindness to Melville as also my Lord Robert for his cheer." . . . There were of

the Elliots and Scots five condemned and three beheaded this night, after 8 o'clock, at the Castle Hill, by torchlight. On Sunday there was married a daughter of the justice clerk three miles from Edinburgh, where the most part of the lords were. After dinner thither went the queen and her four Maries, to do honour to his bride. She returned again that night and supped with Lennox, and I supped at same table. In the midst of supper she drank to the queen, my sovereign, adding the words *de bon cœur*. That night she danced long, and in a mask. She played at dice, and lost to Lennox a pretty jewel of crystal, well set in gold. The lords from the bridal went to Morton's house, where they have tarried these two days.

Lord Seton and Maitland, usually great friends, have become mortal enemies because of one Francis Douglas of Longniddry, to whom Lord Seton hath done the wrong, and of this matter he is like to have the worst. The day I came to Edinburgh I saw five hundred horse assembled to have debated this action with spear, sword, and jack, had not the queen sent a discharge to this gentleman. In the determination of the lieutenancy to be given to Moray there is some change of mind in the queen, and much thought thereof by the Protestants. All pensions granted since her home-coming are called in; considering how greatly she was charged for small service. There shall be also a new reformation of the thirds of the benefices to be paid to the preachers. The Abbot of Crossraguel is dead, and the Kennedys are ready to fall by the ears for his good. Mr. George Buchanan hath received from the queen the whole temporality of that abbacy. The

spiritualities he will not meddle, because he cannot preach. The queen would have made him abbot.

THOMAS RANDOLPH.

At this date George Buchanan had not become a traitor. Some trouble arose over the Crossraguel matter, the Earl of Cassillis having seized and taken possession of the property. A privy council meeting took place in Edinburgh on October 16th, when Cassillis and Buchanan were summoned to appear. After hearing parties, Cassillis was ordained to give up the property within six days, or be put to the horn. There are various items in this letter of Randolph not otherwise recorded.

The queen, on the 19th of January, 1565, paid a visit of ten days to St. Andrews incognito, accompanied by her four Maries and the other ladies of the court, and took apartments in a private house. Randolph followed her, as he always did. She was very friendly with him, notwithstanding his treachery, and he appears to have dined with her five days out of the ten. Mary Beton sat next the queen at these family dinners, and the queen, knowing Randolph had fallen in love with that young lady, placed him next her, which immensely pleased him. The queen enjoyed this courtship, and gave it every encouragement. She

refused to speak to Randolph on official matters, *e.g.*—

"I sent for you to be merry and to see how like a *bourgeois* wife I live with my little troupe, and you will interrupt our pastime with your great and grave matters. If you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your grave subjects until the queen come hither. I assure you you will not get her here, for I know not myself where she is. You see neither cloth of gold nor such appearance that you may think there is a queen here. Nor I would not that you should think that I am she at St. Andrews that I was in Edinburgh."

Mary left St. Andrews and went to Wemyss Castle on February 16th, where she met Darnley. Banquets were made in honour of the distinguished guests, and the family were not slow to notice that they had fallen in love. The Wemyss family are amongst our oldest families and can trace their descent from Macduff, the Thane of Fife in the reign of Malcolm Canmore. Darnley's visit appears to have terminated on the 19th of February, when he went to Dunkeld to visit his father, the queen going on to Edinburgh. She had several offers of marriage at this period, while Elizabeth watched her every movement, being well posted up with a daily letter from Randolph.

An illustration of Mary's geniality is afforded by a dinner given in Edinburgh by Moray, on March 1st. Darnley, and his father, and as many nobles as were in Edinburgh were guests, as were also the ladies of the queen's household. The queen, who evidently was not invited, sent a message that she wished herself in the company, and was sorry she was not invited; to which a return message was sent in the same playful manner, "that the house was her own, and she was free to enter uninvited, and that they were merriest when the table was fullest." She, however, did not go, but invited them all to a banquet of her own two days after, on the occasion of the marriage of Mary Livingstone to the Master of Sempill; this event took place on the 5th of March in presence of the queen and her court, the foreign ambassadors, and the principal nobility. It would appear that the four Maries had pledged themselves not to marry until the queen married again. This would probably be settled at this date.

Bothwell not having atoned for his crime in getting up a plot to seize the queen and assassinate Moray, seeing he had escaped from prison, the queen ordered him to stand his trial for high treason. He failed to appear, but was fined in a large sum, and the matter dropped. Mary

however, was much prejudiced against him; and was disposed to treat him with great severity because of the profligate and abandoned life which he led. It is pretty evident that the administration of the kingdom at this period was greatly paralyzed on account of the selfish and unprincipled men who composed the queen's Privy Council, and with whom she was entirely out of sympathy. These men were a daily menace to her, and when she married Darnley the situation became more acute, and resulted in open rebellion. How she was supported and by whom, in her official duties, we are not informed ; but the narrative, so far as can be gathered, indicates great anxiety and concern on her part, because of her distrust of the men around her who were her counsellors. This distrust had been growing upon her since she landed in Scotland, for their conduct was every day becoming more unscrupulous. The strong personality of Moray she was unable to overcome or even to place in a position of proper submission, while Morton and the rest of his companions bowed to his will in everything.

On the 31st of March Mary proceeded to Stirling Castle, to remain for a short time, and was accompanied by Lennox and Darnley, Randolph, and a considerable retinue, including the ladies of

her household. Darnley and the queen amused themselves by playing billiards, with Randolph and Mary Beton on the other side. The latter usually gained, and Darnley on one occasion presented Mary Beton with a ring and a brooch, and two watches worth fifty crowns. Shortly after he took a severe illness. Mary attended him with the utmost devotion, sitting up with him till midnight. This attention was misunderstood in some quarters, and it must be admitted it was injudicious. What the queen's object was in making this visit is not recorded, nor have we particulars of how she spent the time. The celebration of Easter is referred to at this date by Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, as follows :—

"Never greater triumph in any time of most popery than is this last celebration of Easter. The Queen and her women paraded the town like bourgeois wives, collecting money."[1]

An event of considerable moment now occurred. Prince Labanoff, one of the best authorities on Queen Mary, discovered, in the course of his research, that she was married privately in Stirling Castle, nearly four months before the public ceremony. A letter from Randolph to Elizabeth, if it can be relied on, confirms this. Mary, no

[1] State Paper Office.

doubt, would consider it was a perfectly legal function, being done in the presence of witnesses, and there we must leave it, with an expression of regret that she should have been induced to get married in this way. No doubt the animosity of Elizabeth and Moray to Darnley would weigh with her, as they might have raised troops and prevented it, and probably this is the explanation. In a debate on the subject, Morton, whose sarcasm has not been much recorded, but who evidently was a man who had a vein of humour, said, "It will be long ere you two agree on a husband for her. If she marry not till you do, I fear she will not marry these seven years."

The letter of Randolph to Cecil of May 3rd has been written in the interest of Mary's foes, and is an audacious and misleading communication. It speaks of the universal discontent of the Scottish people at the marriage, and the symptoms of rising rebellion against Mary; that the union with Darnley was odious; that Mary had fallen into universal contempt, and that the lives of the Protestant preachers were in danger. These statements were absolutely false, and were disproved by his own subsequent letters; and this is what makes the actual history of the period so difficult to be ascertained. Her union with

Darnley created great excitement, not only in Scotland, but at the English court, and in France.

On the 8th of May it is recorded that Mary found Moray in Darnley's chamber, and she asked him to sign a paper giving his consent to the marriage, but he refused.[1]

On May 15th Mary summoned a convention of nobles to meet at Stirling, in order to obtain their consent to her marriage. It is a very proper comment on the treachery of some of these nobles, that the convention met, and was numerously attended. Mary was also present, and intimated her intention of marrying Darnley, which was approved without a dissentient voice. The meeting admitted its expediency, though Moray and Morton, who were present, were conspicuous by their silence. The voice of the meeting was evidently against them. Mary called this convention of her own accord, and carried her cause triumphantly. She was so proud of the victory, that on the same day she is reported to have knighted fifteen of her subjects. She was justified in the course she took, as the result showed. It was a bold act, and completely non-suited Moray and Morton. She summoned a convention to be held at Perth, on June 22nd,

[1] *Tytler.*

for the purpose of confirming the marriage, and fixing the date. Moray declined to attend; and Knox summoned the General Assembly to meet at Edinburgh, the same week, for the purpose of frustrating it. Her movements were closely watched.

Mary had stipulated before she left France, that she should enjoy her own religious rites in her private chapel at Holyrood. She and Darnley were Catholics, and Moray, as chief counsellor of the queen, did not wish to be removed from the queen's counsels, as he would be if the marriage took place. This removal he was determined to resent, and he did resent it, by leading the conspirators at the Riccio murder, and by doing so at the murder of Darnley. No sooner was all this over than Throgmorton arrived with despatches from Elizabeth, denouncing in strong terms the proposed marriage, and at great length tried to prove that Darnley was not intended for her. Mary haughtily told him to tell his mistress that the husband she had chosen was descended from the blood royal of both kingdoms, was approved by the Scottish nobles, and, she believed, would be acceptable to the subjects of both realms, and she declined to discuss the matter further. Moray and Argyll asked Elizabeth for assistance,

and debated among themselves whether it would not be better to murder Darnley, or seize him and his father, and deliver them to Elizabeth. Who else were in the plot is not recorded, but it is believed Maitland, Morton, Lindsay, Bothwell, and Ruthven were amongst them, for these were the men who eventually murdered Darnley, and, to save themselves, cast the blame on the queen. Elizabeth's next move was to order Lady Margaret Lennox to be sent to the Tower, and she summoned Lennox and Darnley to repair immediately to her court. These men knew what awaited them, and very wisely evaded the summons. Her next act was to inform Moray, through Randolph, that she would support them in their rebellion against Mary. She was determined to stop the marriage by force of arms, and instructed her military authorities accordingly. This, however, was a mere empty boast, as the sequel showed.

## CHAPTER III.

Mary at Dunkeld—Meeting of General Assembly, and petitions to Mary to abolish the mass—Moray's plot to seize Mary between Perth and Kinross—She raises a military force to subdue Moray—Meeting of Privy Council, and proclamation on the religious question—Moray fails to appear before the queen to defend himself—Her marriage with Darnley—Embodiment of the queen's troops—Mary's estimate of Moray—He raises twelve hundred men, and the queen five thousand—The Royalists pursue Moray from Glasgow to Hamilton and Edinburgh—Crookston Castle—The queen raises more troops, and marches to Biggar and Dumfries—Moray's troops dispersed—Elizabeth calls up Moray and Hamilton to prove her innocence of the Moray rebellion—Her letter to Mary on the situation—Treaty of Bayonne—Lease of Crossraguel—Marriage of Bothwell—Murder of Riccio—Mary imprisoned in Holyrood—Conspirators ask forgiveness—Riccio Bond.

MARY on the 25th of June went to Dunkeld with Lennox and Darnley, but it was evidently impossible she could do so without first having another attack from Elizabeth through Randolph. That ambassador craved an audience before she left, and delivered a rude letter from Elizabeth, which Maitland read. Elizabeth again demanded the return to England of Lennox and Darnley, but Mary sarcastically said, "If I give them leave

I doubt if they would go." The absurdity of this request was that these men were not subjects of Elizabeth at all. Matters got so hot that, after Mary's return from Dunkeld, these men advised her to send Randolph out of Scotland. She thereupon informed Randolph that it would not be for her honour to put him under restraint, but she might treat him as coldly as she thought fit. She wanted to know what Elizabeth would be at. He said she wanted Lennox and Darnley returned. Mary declined, and asked if there was anything else she wanted. "Yes," he said, "what if your majesty would alter your religion?" "What would that do?" queried the queen. "Peradventure it would move her majesty to allow the sooner of your marriage." "That," she said, "cannot be," and the interview terminated. Elizabeth's request was insolent, nor was Mary's religion a matter with which she had anything to do. The General Assembly met and discussed the Darnley marriage, and the prospects of a Catholic Government. Morton and Argyll were the leading spirits. Argyll was at this date an enemy of the queen, and an ally of Moray. The Assembly resolved to petition Mary that the blasphemous mass and all popish idolatry should be abolished, not only throughout the kingdom,

but also in her Royal person and household. The Earl of Glencairn and five commissioners presented this petition to Mary at Perth. The composition of it is without a doubt the work of Knox. Mary informed them that she was not persuaded that there was any impropriety in the mass, and she hoped her subjects would not press her to act against her conscience. She neither might nor would forsake the religion wherein she had been educated and brought up, believing the same to be the true religion, and founded on the word of God. She did not intend to force the conscience of any person, but to permit every one to serve God in such manner as they are persuaded is the best.[1]

This practice of idolatry which Morton and Argyll made so much noise about, was simply the Roman Catholic service observed in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood for the benefit of the queen and her household. The queen had a right to expect perfect freedom in the private devotional exercises of her own household, and any interference by her nobles was gratuitous and impertinent. There is in the State Paper Office the copy of a letter dated July 16th, sent by Mary to divers of her subjects, disclaiming

[1] *Spottiswoode.*

any intention of disturbing them in their religion and conscience. She repeated these sentiments frequently during the course of her reign. The subject was one that her enemies were always glad to take up. It afforded a splendid weapon for persecuting her and arousing Protestant feeling against her, and they were not slow to have recourse to it. Nor is there any evidence that Moray, Morton, and the faction who ranged themselves against her, professed any religion whatever, though they pose in the historical narrative as Protestants and reformers. Her refusal to comply with the Assembly's unjust resolution led up, it is alleged, to the proposal to seize her on the 1st of July, which was Moray's suggestion. Looking to the stipulation that the queen made about her religion, this persecution was tyrannical and dishonest, specially on the part of Moray, Morton, and those who were consenting parties to it.

It would appear that Mary, who was residing in the castle at Perth, had promised to pay a visit on the 1st of July to Lord Livingstone, at Callender House, in order to act as godmother at the baptism of his child. This engagement became known, and Moray, Argyll, and Rothes, who headed a rebellion with the approval of

Elizabeth, arranged to have followers ready to seize her at the Pass of Dron or at Beath near Dunfermline. A band of followers was also to lie in wait at Parnwell Bridge, three miles from Kinross, the spot now indicated by a memorial bridge, spanning the old road, erected by the late Mr. Adam of Blair Adam.[1] The evening before, the Laird of Dowhill (Lindsay) heard of the plot, and at once posted to Perth, and informed the queen as she was retiring for the night. She immediately called Atholl and Ruthven (the latter was Lord Provost of Perth), and they forthwith raised three hundred horsemen fully armed, and with this escort the journey to Callender House was safely accomplished. Mary, with three of her ladies, was in the saddle by five o'clock in the morning. Two hours later Moray and Argyll were on the road with their followers, to find that they were too late. At Callender House Mary attended the Protestant service, and declared herself in readiness to hear John Erskine of Dun, one of the leading Reformers. Goodall believes that Knox was concerned in this conspiracy, as he was accused of it by Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and did not attempt to defend himself. It is also noticeable that

[1] *Burns Begg.*

Ruthven for once ranged himself on the side of the queen against Moray—rather an extraordinary proceeding, seeing he was a companion of Moray. The position of Elizabeth in this incident is one that merits disapprobation. To ally herself with Moray in order to seize the Queen of Scots was an unlawful and a disgraceful proceeding; and to incite these men to rebellion, and to support them with money, indicates what an unscrupulous woman she was.

It had been agreed by Moray and his followers that Mary was to be imprisoned (if caught) at St. Andrews. Darnley, who accompanied her, was to be imprisoned at Castle Campbell; he was thereafter to be murdered, and Mary sent to Lochleven, a prisoner for life. This was the little programme these rebels, led by Moray and instigated by Elizabeth, had concocted; but it signally failed by the celerity of Mary's movements. It shows, however, on Moray's part a sullen determination to carry his point, that reminds one of Kruger in the Transvaal. Failing in this attempt, he was determined to prosecute his cause, and called a meeting of his supporters in Glasgow to consider the situation. Mary instantly gave instructions to stop this meeting.

A convention of the estates called in July she prorogued till September, and she appears to have summoned her subjects to meet her in the capital, in view of Moray's rebellion, with fifteen days' provisions, that she might proceed against the rebels. Mary was in the ascendant, and Moray was unable at this time to resist her authority. Randolph,[1] by request of Elizabeth, interceded for Moray, but Mary snubbed him by saying, "Your mistress must not be offended if I pursue the remedy that is in my own hands," which was to attack Moray and compel his submission. Elizabeth at this time was playing at love with Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Dudley was a married man. Froude has discovered letters of the Spanish ambassador to the King of Spain, in which grave suspicions are thrown on Elizabeth and Dudley. The ambassador was told by Cecil, the day before Dudley's wife died, that the queen and Dudley were thinking of poisoning her, and that they had given out that she was ill, which was not true. Next day Elizabeth told the ambassador that she was dead. She died the same day.

[1] The following is Tytler's opinion of Randolph: "The character of this crafty agent of Cecil was of that accommodating and equivocal kind which, without loving misrepresentation (to use a mild word) for its own sake, did not hesitate to employ it when he thought it would forward the designs of Elizabeth and Cecil."

It is said the suspicion which attached to her death prevented the marriage of the queen and Dudley. We do not believe this, as Elizabeth was incapable of concentrating her love on one man. She was, as usual, merely playing at "shuttlecock."

Mary had at this period created Darnley Duke of Albany, but he was not contented with that, and demanded of her to make him king. Mary was weak enough to grant this request, but she lived to regret it. It was an injudicious act, due to her impulsive nature.

On the 12th of July a Privy Council meeting was held in Edinburgh to discuss the religious question, when it was resolved to issue a proclamation ordaining letters to be sent to the sheriffs of Scotland, authorizing them to assure her majesty's subjects that as they had not hitherto been molested in the quiet using of their religion and conscience, so they should not be disturbed in the time to come; but behaving themselves honestly as good subjects, should find her majesty willing to do them justice and to show them favour and clemency. This proclamation gave satisfaction; but it was not much relished by Moray and his companions. Their policy was rather to make the queen unpopular. Moray and Argyll having spread a rumour that Darnley

designed the death of Moray, a Privy Council was called on the 16th of July, at which it was stated that the deed was devised in the back gallery of the queen's lodging in Perth by Darnley and others, which report was offensive to the queen, and a matter she could not suffer to remain untried. Messengers were sent by the Privy Council to Moray and Argyll, requiring them to declare plainly the words of the report made to them, and the names of the reporters; that they put their declaration in writing and sign it, and send it to the queen's advocate, otherwise the queen would conclude that they themselves had forged and invented this report in order to raise tumult, and to bring the queen and Darnley into trouble with her subjects. At a Privy Council held on July 19th, the queen presiding, the messengers reported that they had seen Moray, and he was willing to come to the queen's presence and declare the truth of the report if assured of his life. This assurance was granted if he came within three days, fully instructed with all things necessary to verify the reports, with certification; if he fail to do so, the "queen will use such rigour against him in bringing of the said allegiance to light as she may do by the laws of the realm." At a Privy Council on July 28th

the queen announced her marriage with Darnley, and that in future the Government would be carried on by the king and queen, Darnley to get the appellation of king. This, however, met with much opposition. On Sunday, July 29th, the ceremony of marriage between Mary and Darnley was performed at the Chapel Royal, Holyrood, at 5.30 a.m., by Henry Sinclair, Roman Catholic Dean of Restalrig and Bishop of Brechin. There were in attendance Atholl, Morton, Crawford, Eglinton, Cassillis, Glencairn, and others. Morton's presence is mysterious. Mary was dressed in mourning, and was led into the chapel by Lennox and Atholl. Three rings were put on her finger by Darnley, one of them being a rich diamond. After the ceremony a *déjeûner* took place, and in the afternoon a banquet, followed by a ball and rejoicings in the evening. The marriage and the queen's recognition of Darnley as king was like the throwing of a bomb-shell amongst the Protestant party. The country was split up into two factions, the queen at the head of one, and Moray at the head of the other. Mary was indebted to Throgmorton for some good advice at this crisis. He was an honest man, and disapproved of the proceedings of Mary's nobles. He recognized the great difficulty

of her situation ; and the treachery of those who were nearest to her, specially Moray, Maitland, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay. He advised her to pardon these men for their treasonable conduct, as it was desirable to reduce the number of her enemies, particularly as her succession to the English crown would shortly be discussed, and votes on that occasion would be important to her. Mary was favourably impressed with this advice, but she did not accept it, a decision which was very unlike her reputation for conciliation. We are informed by another writer[1] that, after the queen's marriage, nothing remained for Moray but submission or revolt. Morton remained in the queen's counsels to betray them, and on the occasion of a subsequent revolt he commanded the queen's army on purpose to mislead it.

At a Privy Council on August 1st, Lord Fleming was appointed chamberlain. Moray did not obey the queen's summons, and the Privy Council cited him to appear before their majesties at Edinburgh to answer for his conduct, under a penalty of being denounced as a rebel. Moray disregarded the summons, and at a meeting of the Council on August 7th proclamation was made intimating his refusal to obey the queen's

[1] *Chalmers.*

commands, and charging the lieges not to have any communication with him under a penalty of being considered rebels. Moray was joined by Rothes, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Haliburton, provost of Dundee. Orders were given to remove these men from the castle of St. Andrews, Dumbarton Castle, and other places of which they were in possession, and the magistrates of Glasgow and Dumbarton were requested to make proclamation that no victuals or armour were to be supplied to them.

Considerable excitement prevailed at court over this withdrawal of Moray from his allegiance, and a Privy Council was held on August 15th, when these four men were denounced as rebels, and proclamation to that effect made. Communication with them, or giving them meat, drink, or armour, was forbidden. The queen, realizing that the rebels were plainly conspiring together, and that she must bring them to obedience, ordered her subjects, provided for fifteen days' service, to meet her at the following places: Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Falkirk, Glasgow, Stirling, Kirkintilloch, and Irvine. Atholl was appointed lieutenant in the north, with unlimited power to seek out the rebels and their followers, lay siege to their houses, and pursue them with fire and sword till they were

brought to obedience. A conscription was levied, and all persons between sixteen and sixty were ordered to turn out for military service for twenty days, under pain of forfeiture of their lands and goods. At the head of this organization was the queen, and she evidently formulated all the arrangements. On the 5th of September a Privy Council was held at Glasgow, when the following nobles in the west of Scotland signed an undertaking to support the queen against the rebels: Eglinton, Cassillis, Sempill, Ross, Somerville, Cathcart, Sanquhar, Campbell of Loudoun, Kennedy of Bargany, Wallace of Craigie, Hamilton of Sanquhar, Cuninghame of Capringston, Hamilton of Crawfordjohn, Cuninghame of Glengarnock, Mure of Rowallan, Cuninghame of Cuninghamhead, Dunbar of Blantyre, Boswell of Auchinleck, Baillie of Lamington, Dalziel of Dalziel, and Cuninghame of Craigends.

The following nobles, who were evidently considered doubtful supporters of the queen, were ordered to appear before her at St. Andrews to answer certain charges: Hamilton (Duke), Argyll, Glencairn, Boyd, Ochiltree, Hamilton (Kilwinning), Lockhart of Bar, Chalmers of Gadgirth and Campbell tutor of Cessnock. Moray would, of course, inspire these men to rebel. The nobles

in St. Andrews and Dunbar districts signed a similar paper to support the queen, while a paper of considerable importance was drawn up, and signed by the king and queen at St. Andrews on the 3rd of September. This paper is a conclusive answer to those who think Moray's quarrel with the queen was because of her religion, or that religion had anything to do with her administration of the kingdom. It expresses, as plainly as words can do, Mary's estimate of the character of Moray, and the causes which led to this rebellion. Moray's ingratitude and hypocrisy and insatiable ambition are pointed out without qualification. The paper is a clever stroke of genius, and is the severest and most unanswerable castigation of Moray and his faction that has ever been recorded. It concludes: "If you hearken to their voice they will draw you after them to your utter destruction." That Moray felt the bitterness of this denunciation there can be no manner of doubt. From the date of this paper to his assassination, four and a half years, he was her sworn enemy, and pursued her with relentless fury, till he crushed her authority, murdered her husband, and put her into hopeless imprisonment. He was a man of a sullen and unforgiving nature, and the accomplishment of this scheme

seems to have been the one object of his life. But it accomplished more than he bargained for. In the midst of his persecution of the queen he fell by the hands of the assassin. The paper is as follows :—

"Forasmuch as in this uproar, lately raised against us by certain of the rebels and assistants, the authors thereof, to foyle the eyes of the simple people, have given them to understand that the quarrel was only religion, thinking with that cloak to cover their ungodly designs, and so under pretence of that plausible argument to draw after them a large following of ignorant persons easy to be seduced. . . . what other thing could move the principal raisers of this tumult to put themselves in arms against us so unnaturally, on whom we had bestowed so many benefits, but that the great honor we did them they were unworthy of, made them to misknow themselves, and that their insatiable ambition could not be satisfied with heaping riches upon riches, and honor upon honor, but they must take us and our whole realm into their hands to be led used and disposed of at their pleasure. Of this could not the multitude have perceived if God for disclosing their hypocrisy had not compelled them to alter their unreasonable desire to govern. By letters sent from them to us they make it plain that religion will not content them, but we must be governed by such counsel as they shall appoint to us, a thing so far beyond all reason that the mere mention of so unreasonable a demand is sufficient to make their nearest kinsfolk their mortal enemies. This is to invert the

order of nature to make the Prince obey and the subjects to command. The like was never demanded of our progenitors. On our arrival in the Realm we had free choice of our counsel, and now when we are at our full majority shall we be brought back to our minority and a state of tutelage? So long as some of them bore the full swing with us this matter was never called in question, but now when they cannot do and undo all things at their own sweet will, they will put a bridle in our mouth and give us counsel after their own choice. This is the quarrel of religion they made you believe they had in hand. This is the quarrel for which they would have you hazard your lives, lands and goods, in company with rebels against your Princes: in plain language they would be kings themselves and administer the kingdom leaving us the mere title. We make this proclamation in order that you may not be deceived under pretence of religion to follow them seeing they prefer their own advancement to the public tranquillity, and if you hearken to their voice they will draw you after them to your utter destruction; assuring you that as you have had experience of our clemency and enjoyed in peace the possession of your goods and lives and liberty of conscience so you may have assurance of the like hereafter so many of you as shall be true and faithful subjects."

Mary showed her determination to resist the behaviour of Moray and his faction by recalling some of his enemies from banishment. These were Lord George Gordon, son of the late Earl of Huntly, a prisoner since Huntly's death in

1562; the Earl of Sutherland, an accomplice of Huntly; and the Earl of Bothwell. Moray, who was not slow to recognize the meaning of this, relied on Elizabeth for support. He, in company with Argyll, Rothes, and Glencairn, went to Ayr, held a public meeting there of rebellious subjects, when it was resolved to appeal to arms, and assemble on the 24th of August for active service. Moray was able to raise a force of twelve hundred men—an incapable and inexperienced force, as it turned out. At the head of it were the Duke of Hamilton and Kirkaldy of Grange. Mary's behaviour regarding the Huntly rebellion no doubt caused the chief of the Hamiltons to espouse the side of Moray on this occasion. Moray issued a manifesto requiring the people to join the rebellion because the queen was infringing on the liberties of the realm by imposing on them a king without the consent of parliament.[1] Mary, realizing the serious nature of the movement, resolved to act with promptitude; and, in response to her proclamation, five thousand men joined her standard. Morton's position is very suspicious, as he was a companion of Moray, and opposed the queen's marriage. He appears, however, to have for a time joined himself to the

[1] *Keith.*

queen's forces, and was appointed to the chief command. Some writers think Moray inspired him to do so in order to be able to disclose to the rebels the queen's plans, and this is very probable. With this force the king and queen left Edinburgh on the 26th of August, resting the first night at Linlithgow, the second at Stirling. The queen was armed with loaded pistols, wore a riding habit of scarlet with gold embroidery, and a steel casque on her head. Under her riding-dress she wore a suit of armour. She was prepared to give them battle, and continued her march from Stirling to Glasgow. Moray and his troops, who were lying at Paisley, hearing of the approach of the queen, went to Hamilton. Here they are said to have quarrelled with the duke, for they left him there, and, with Kirkaldy of Grange at their head, went on to Edinburgh. The queen pursued them from Glasgow to Hamilton, and followed them to Edinburgh.

The rebels entered Edinburgh on the 1st of September, and issued a manifesto to the citizens, begging support; but the citizens would have nothing to do with them. Next day, Erskine, the governor of the castle, fired on them, which much surprised them, and they resolved to make for Dumfries by way of Hamilton, in the hope that

Elizabeth would still support them, which she did with a contribution of £1000 and a promise of three hundred soldiers. When the royalists reached Edinburgh the rebels had gone, and the queen resolved to go to Stirling *viâ* Fife in pursuit of them. From Stirling she retraced her steps to Glasgow, but found the rebels had fled to Dumfries. She therefore abandoned pursuit, and went to Crookston Castle, where she spent a week, and returned to Stirling. On September 19th the queen, with her troops, reached Edinburgh, *viâ* Perth and Dunfermline. Bothwell, who had just returned from France, and Lords Seton and Huntly now arrived on the scene, and joined the queen. Notwithstanding the defeat of the rebels, they continued to cause much uneasiness, and still instigated rebellion. On the 8th of October Mary again set out in pursuit of them at the head of ten thousand troops. They proceeded to Dumfries *viâ* Biggar. In the register of the Privy Council there is the record of a meeting at Castlehill on October 10th, at which the military arrangements for attacking the rebels were resolved upon—the vanguard to be led by Lennox and Cassillis and various noblemen, and the rearguard by Huntly, Atholl, Ruthven, and others. The battle to be led in person by the

king, accompanied by Morton, Bothwell, Mar, Lindsay, and others. It is very mysterious why Ruthven and Lindsay were included in this order, as they were companions of Moray, and could not but be false to the queen.

At the head of this army Mary entered Dumfries on the 12th of October, and got an enthusiastic reception, notwithstanding that there were many rebels there. Lord Herries, it is said, was called in by both parties for his advice, and he desired the confederate lords to retire into England, which they did.[1] Moray dispersed his forces, and went with a few followers to Carlisle, where Bedford, Elizabeth's ambassador, received them. Whether Lord Herries was called in as an adviser between parties, as is alleged, is a point that may be challenged. It is not stated by other historians, who say that Moray and the rebels fled to Carlisle when they heard of the approach of the queen. Though this is inconsistent with the Herries narrative, we think it is the more probable of the two. The rebels wrote the queen that they would return to their allegiance if she would restore them to their estates, dismiss foreigners from her service, and discontinue the mass. It was perplexing, not to say irritating, to

[1] *Lord Herries*, Memoirs of Mary.

the queen to be continually nagged about her religion. She would not listen, nor would she reply to any such remonstrances, as she considered the conduct of Moray and his faction had gone too far. She then disbanded her forces and returned to Edinburgh on the 18th of October. Elizabeth was so displeased with the Darnley marriage that she wrote Mary, requiring her "to send her husband back to England, of which country he was a born subject." Mary not only repudiated such an insane request, but refused to see the messenger who brought it. On his return journey Lord Herries caught him travelling without a passport, and imprisoned him for several days, to Elizabeth's intense disgust. Elizabeth was greatly disappointed at the collapse of Moray's rebellion, and the success of the queen, but, in spite of this, she determined to uphold Moray.

The rebels were having a great traffic by sea, through the Lothians and Fife, and the Privy Council, to put a stop to this, issued instructions appointing certain nobles and others to take the supervision of every seaport on the coast, secure every vessel, and prevent this traffic going on. Argyll and Boyd, who were rebels, were sought for at this period by the queen, but could not be found. A summons, therefore, could not be

served upon them, and proclamation was made at Stirling, Dumbarton, and Ayr, ordaining these two nobles to appear before the king and queen within six days; failing which they would be denounced as rebels, and their estates forfeited.

Elizabeth now offered her services to effect a reconciliation between Mary and the rebels. This was a cunning stroke of policy, doubtless meant to mislead Mary and improve Moray's position, seeing she was bolstering up Moray with all her might. Mary, however, was wide awake. She replied that a properly accredited person to deal with the matter would be heartily welcome,—

"but if it were only for a pretence of interfering in the affairs of the realm, regarding the matters between her and her subjects, she wished to have it plainly understood that she would not endure such interference, either from the Queen of England or any other monarch; and that she was perfectly able herself to chastise her rebels, and bring them to reason."

Mary was justified in taking up this position, and this answer is precisely what Elizabeth deserved. If Elizabeth had given more attention to her own affairs, and left Mary alone, it would have been better for both. This snub, however, was quite lost on her, as she continued to annoy Mary as much as ever. Mary, at this period, had some

difficulty in providing for her military expenditure. It appears to have exhausted her exchequer, and she applied to the corporation of Edinburgh for the loan of some money. After some negotiations they advanced her £1000 sterling, on condition of receiving a mortgage of the Superiority of Leith. Some time after this transaction had been concluded, it is said Mary wished it reopened and cancelled, but the corporation would not entertain the proposal. King Philip II. of Spain sent her 2000 crowns towards payment of the military. Mary's gallant and heroic behaviour in so promptly putting down this rebellion gave great satisfaction to her subjects, and drew from them general admiration. It was this spirit of determination and hope that enabled her to endure nineteen years of captivity. She was now at the zenith of her power, and for the time had completely crushed Moray; but no occupant of a throne could have long kept such a treacherous crew in subjection. Moray's intentions could not possibly be misunderstood. He was determined, at whatever cost, to supersede the queen, and this he ultimately accomplished. It was an extremely harassing time for her; she was newly-married, she had the cares of State on her shoulders, she was responsible for the

administration of affairs, her exchequer was very low, and, in addition to that, she had to occupy her time in travelling the country at the head of her troops in order to put down a rebellion. It is difficult to understand why she did not supplant some of those traitors who held high offices of State with honest men whom she could put confidence in, and more mysterious still that those nobles, such as Herries and Seton, who were so true and devoted to her, should have been thrust aside and have held no position under the crown. Probably the explanation is that they were Catholics; but, as at this period her party was the strongest in the State, she might have promoted these men at the risk of rebellion.

The ambassadors of France and Spain complained to Elizabeth of her unwarrantable interference in the affairs of Queen Mary, and that she was responsible for the stirring up of this rebellion. Elizabeth declared her innocence, as a matter of course, and called Moray and Hamilton (Kilwinning) to her presence to verify her words. These men on their knees protested her innocence, and having got that out of them, she dismissed them as "worthless traitors." Having perjured themselves, these men departed stupefied with amazement. Her temper subsided, and next

day she made friends with them, and confided in them more than ever. This is a good illustration of Elizabeth's character, and enables us to estimate her deceitful and treacherous nature. It also manifests the duplicity and untruthfulness of Moray and Hamilton, who were evidently prepared to do anything that Elizabeth desired. The position of Maitland in this rebellion is difficult to make out. Why was he not with Moray? After the exhibition he made of himself on his return from the English court, and his determination never to recognize Darnley, his joining the queen's troops was inconsistent with his previous attitude. Probably he saw the utter hopelessness of a revolt, and gave in.

On the 29th of October, Elizabeth acquainted Bedford that she had just written to Mary regarding the rebellion, "to assure her of her esteem and good will," and she attaches her seal to this piece of unblushing duplicity. The following is the translation of this letter :—

"Considering, madam, that on all sides I hear that several passages which have lately taken place between us have, in the opinion of onlookers, shaken our friendship, and inasmuch as my displeasure (as it seems) has been incited by your conduct to such a degree that, if we do not come to a better understanding, all the world

will think that our bond of friendship is severed,—And, as for me, I cannot believe, neither can reasonably hope, a good outcome from this affair, if not by several persons deputed by both of us to hear all the causes of this ingratitude, and that you or your court will endeavour to give honest and honourable satisfaction; for on my side I shall not fail,—So much I have written because I have received so many of your pleasant letters, and having lately heard, through Mauvissière, the great desire that you seem to have to continue our friendship, I have therefore requested Randolph to make to you several offers (that I recommend to you) of which I inform you, if you will be pleased to accept them in as kind a spirit as I offer them. Also I have repeated to him at great length the conversation between me and one of your subjects, which I hope will satisfy you, wishing that you yourself could have heard the honour and affection with which I upheld your person, in direct contradiction to what is said that I defended your rebel subjects against you, a thing that will ever be far from my heart, being too great an ignominy for a princess to suffer, far more to do, that would make all wish to exclude me from the rank of princess, as being unworthy to accept a place there. And in this mind I pray the Creator to guide you always, and with cordial regards, my dear sister,

"Your very faithful sister and cousin.

"ELIZABETH."

Considering that there is undeniable proof, and abundance of it, that Elizabeth found money for the rebels, and that but for her there would

have been no rebellion, the reader will form his own conclusions respecting this communication. During the remainder of this year, Mary was privileged to enjoy undisturbed the peace and quietness of Holyrood, a circumstance that must have afforded her much enjoyment, particularly when we consider how much her life was harassed by the machinations of Elizabeth, by her nagging and by her treachery, and by her moral and pecuniary support of Moray and the rebels. At a Privy Council meeting on the 1st of December, Moray, Argyll, Glencairn, Rothes, Ochiltree, and Boyd were reported by the queen's advocate to have been summoned for treason, and, not appearing, were declared rebels. Forfeiture of estates does not appear to have been part of this sentence. Moray and Argyll were pardoned on the 12th of March following, on Mary's return with an army from Dunbar, immediately after Riccio's murder.

In 1566 there was got up a scheme of Pope Pius IV. and the sovereigns of France and Spain to exterminate the Protestants over Christendom. It was called the Treaty of Bayonne. Mary never joined or subscribed to it, nor is there *bonâ fide* evidence that she was even asked to do so. The statement that she

did comes from Robertson, and it would appear that he founds on a letter written by Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow; but on reference to the original, it has been discovered that in Robertson's narrative the extract from Mary's letter has been garbled, and the meaning of her words reversed. Neither can we believe the statements of Randolph, on which Robertson also founds, Randolph to Cecil, February 7, 1566: "The bond was subscribed by the queen;" and, in his next letter, "It has come to the queen's hand, but not yet confirmed." There is no other authority for the statements of Robertson, Tytler, and Froude. We cannot admit from these quotations that Mary signed the treaty. Having done this injustice, they add: "In an evil hour she signed the league. This may be regarded as one of the most fatal errors of her life, and it proved the source of all her misfortunes."[1] Another writer[2] says: "It certainly never was confirmed by Mary Stuart, whose name is not so much as mentioned in connection with the league by either of the contemporary historians who have entered most fully into the details." "She declined to comply with the pope's request, and positively refused to touch the matter."[3] This

[1] *Tytler.* [2] *Strickland.* [3] *Stuart.*

opinion is confirmed by Hosack, Glassford Bell, and others. Mary, throughout her career, did nothing antagonistic to the Protestant faith. It is probably true, as stated by an eminent writer, that there does not exist a shadow of proof that Mary ever contemplated the subversion of the reformed religion in Scotland.

In 1566 the queen granted a lease of the abbey of Crossraguel to the Earl of Cassillis, of which the following is a copy, now for the first time published. The document is very interesting and curious as a relic of that period.

### *Queen Mary's Lease of Crossraguel Abbey to the Earl of Cassillis.*

Our sovereign lord and lady ordain a lease to be made under the Privy Seal in due form making mention that their majesties understand that the abbey of Crossraguel has ever been disponed to friends of the House of Cassillis at the suit of the Earls thereof for the time and for their good service, which abbey is presently vacant in their Highness's hands through the decease of Quintin last Abbot thereof. And their Majesties having the like good opinion of their trusty cousin Gilbert now Earl of Cassillis Lord Kennedy as their progenitors have ever had of his predecessors for his good true and thankful service—Lets and formally lets to the said Earl his heirs and assignees all and whole the said abbey of Crossraguel with all lands, kirks, teinds, milnes, multures, woods, fishings, Abbey

Place houses, yards and pertinents whatsoever pertaining thereto for the space and term of three years next following the day and date hereof, which day and date shall be their entry in and to the tack and (assedacioun) occupation of the said Abbey and whole feu thereof and thereafter to endure for the said space of 3 years, and after the expiry of the said 3 years other 3 years and so forth for 3 years in 3 years unto the issue and complete end of 19 years with power to the said Earl his heirs and assignees to set and roup all lands, kirks, teinds and possessions pertaining to the said abbey in the same manner as the said abbot might have used or set the same in his life time, or before any disposition made of the same or any part thereof to others with all and sundry other commodities freedoms etc. freely quietly etc. But any Renacán— And that for the yearly payment of the sum of 700 marks usual money of Scotland according as the said Earl is taken bound to pay by virtue of the tack and assedacioun which he has set to him by the said abbot, which yearly duty their majesties for the good service made and to be made to them by their said cousin Remit and Discharge during the time of this present tack and assedacioun, commanding her highness lieges (complere) present and to come and all others to desist and cease from all craving or uptaking of the said yearly duty, Discharging also the Lords of Council and Session of all passing or directing of any trespass against the said Earl his heirs or assignees —the tenants occupiers and possessors of the lands and possessions of the said abbey for payment of the rent and duties thereof or any part of the same or any others during the term of this present tack and assedacioun.

Also their majesties for the causes aforesaid promise to the said Earl that he shall have confirmation of all such feu lands as he has in Carrick and Galloway *gratis* without any composition (payment) and commands the Treasurer and Lords Commissioners to pass the same confirmation in manner aforesaid. And in case this present tack be not sufficient security upon the said benefits their Majesties shall reform the same of new if need be and that the said Lease be extended in the best form with all clauses needful

Subscribed by their Majesties at Edinburgh the 10th day of February the year of God 1566

MARIE R
HENRY R

On the 24th of February Bothwell, who was thirty-six years of age, was married to Lady Jane Gordon, sister to Lord Huntly, a lady of a bright and cultivated intellect, and twenty years of age. The ceremony took place in Holyrood, and Mary and Darnley were present. Mary gave a sumptuous banquet on the occasion, and the rejoicings lasted several days. Strange as it may seem, when these rejoicings were going on a conspiracy against Mary was actually proceeding. Darnley and she had not been getting on well; in short, Darnley could get on with nobody. Mary was told of this conspiracy by Riccio, and that Darnley was in it.

There is in the State Paper Office, dated

February 26th, a receipt by Moray for £1000 received from Elizabeth, to be employed by the nobility of Scotland for the maintenance of the true religion and the Scottish Commonwealth. It is witnessed by Sir John Maxwell and Kirkaldy of Grange. Then, on March 16th, Bedford writes to Elizabeth, acknowledging her instructions to pay £300 secretly to Moray towards his charges while at Newcastle. This refers to the flight of Moray and the rebels to Newcastle, Mary having chased them out of the country, as we have already stated; and this is a proof of Elizabeth supporting them in their rebellion—a point which has not hitherto been generally admitted. It was difficult for Mary to maintain her independence against such overwhelming foes as Elizabeth and Moray, more particularly as Elizabeth's exchequer was always open to meet the requirements of Moray and the rebels.

She opened Parliament on the 7th of March on which occasion she rode from Holyrood to the Tolbooth on horseback, accompanied by a great train of nobles and an immense concourse of people, Huntly, Bothwell, and Crawford in front, carrying the crown, sceptre, and sword of honour. Mary took her seat on the throne, made her opening speech, and proceeded to business.

Darnley refused to accompany her, because he had not received the crown matrimonial. He and his companions rode away to Leith to enjoy themselves, and left the queen to manage the State business. This Parliament summoned the rebel lords to appear on the 12th of March, under pain of forfeiture of their titles and estates. The lords, however, proceeded to put in operation their plans for the murder of Riccio, a scheme that had for some time been in negotiation.

Moray, Morton, Maitland, Ruthven, and Lindsay took Darnley's part against the queen, not because of their respect for Darnley, but because they were thirsting for power and contemplating her removal. They undertook to get him the crown matrimonial if he headed the conspiracy to murder Riccio, and to that he agreed. Mary had promised this some time before, but had found it necessary to draw back from her promise. In carrying out this conspiracy Darnley sent his cousin, George Douglas, to implore Ruthven to assist him "against the villain David." The apartments in Holyrood where this tragedy occurred are still in good preservation. The principal staircase in the north-west tower led up to Queen Mary's apartments. Passing through the reception-room

a door opens into Mary's bedroom, where her own bed yet stands, a relic of much interest. It was in the little anteroom, or cabinet, off her bedroom that Mary sat at supper with her friends on that eventful evening, Saturday the 9th of March. It is difficult to see, at this date, how six people could be accommodated at supper in such a small apartment, about twelve feet square. From Darnley's chamber beneath there is a private stair leading into Mary's bedroom, by which it could be entered without passing through the reception-room. On the night in question, Darnley went up this stair, and, walking into the supper-room, sat down beside the queen. The conspirators shortly after followed Darnley up this private stair. Ruthven led them, and with George Douglas (not the Lochleven Douglas) entered Mary's apartment without leave, and threw himself into a chair. About twenty men collected in the bedroom adjoining, all in armour. Ruthven, though he was suffering from internal inflammation and died a few weeks afterwards, contrived to do his part of the butchery. Morton and Lindsay with an armed force kept the outside gates.

Mary had a horror of Ruthven from his brutal habits. He wore a coat of mail, a steel

cap, and had a sword in his hand. Mary became terrified, and said to him, "My lord, I was coming to visit you in your chamber, having been told you were very ill, and now you enter our presence in your armour! What does this mean?" Ruthven: "I have indeed been very ill, but well enough to come here for your good." The queen: "And what good can you do me? You come not in the fashion of one that meaneth well." Ruthven: "There is no harm intended to your grace, nor to any one but to yonder poltroon David. It is he with whom I have to speak." The queen: "What hath he done?" Ruthven: "Ask the king, your husband, madam." She turned to Darnley: "What is the meaning of this?" Darnley: "I know nothing of the matter." The queen was irritated, and ordered Ruthven to leave her presence under a penalty of treason. Her attendants thereupon attempted to eject him forcibly, but, getting up and brandishing his sword, he exclaimed, "Lay no hands on me, for I will not be handled;" and at that moment others of the conspirators forced themselves into the little apartment.

The first man to strike Riccio was George Douglas. Seizing the dirk which Darnley wore, he stabbed Riccio over Mary's shoulder. The

victim was thereupon dragged out into the bedroom, where the conspirators speedily put an end to his life. It is not the case, as has frequently been said, that he was killed in Mary's presence. Mary narrowly escaped assassination. During the scuffle Ker of Faudonside, son-in-law of Kirkaldy of Grange, presented a cocked pistol to her breast, telling her he would shoot her dead if she offered resistance. "Fire," she replied, "if you respect not the royal infant in my womb." Immediately Patrick Bellenden, brother of the justice clerk, aimed a thrust at her bosom, but it was noticed in time and prevented.

When all was over, the queen and Darnley were alone. One of the ladies came in and announced Riccio's death, and that it was all done by the king's orders. "Ah, traitor, and son of a traitor," she said to Darnley, "is this the recompense thou givest to her who covered thee with benefits, and raised thee to so great favour?" Then, overpowered by the bitterness of her feelings, she fainted. At this stage Ruthven entered the apartment, and called for a glass of wine, which he drank off. Mary, having recovered consciousness, remonstrated with Darnley; but he was too sullen to give her satisfaction, and she intimated to him that she would live with him as

his wife no longer. Ruthven began to give her a lecture on her conjugal duties in an insolent tone, to which Mary replied, "Why may I not leave him—as well as your wife did her husband?" Ruthven had himself taken the wife of another man, and married her during her husband's lifetime. Mary's courageous spirit never quailed before the ruffian who menaced and insulted her. "I trust," she said, "that God, who beholdeth this from the high heavens, will avenge my wrongs, and move that which shall be born of me to root out you and your treacherous posterity." That denunciation was so far accomplished by her son James VI. For the Raid of Ruthven the son and successor of this Ruthven was executed, and for the Gowrie conspiracy the next earl and his brother were assassinated. The Ruthvens were a treacherous and cold-blooded race.

The provost of Edinburgh, when he heard of the murder, ordered the alarm bells to be rung. The citizens in crowds rushed to Holyrood, and demanded to see the queen; but she was a prisoner, and not permitted to see them. Darnley looked out from the window and told them all was well, and they departed.

On Sunday morning, March 10th, Moray and the lords who were banished for their treasonable

conduct arrived in Edinburgh without being recalled, and they were escorted by one thousand horsemen, commanded by Lord Home. They went to Holyrood, and Mary, hearing that Moray had arrived, immediately sent for him. He obeyed her command, and, it is said, was much shocked at seeing the miserable condition she was in. This statement must be received with reserve. Poor Mary flung herself into his arms and embraced him, but it was in vain. She told him how cruelly she had been treated, promised him an unconditional remission of his sentence of banishment as a rebel, and requested him to assist in restoring her to liberty. It is said Moray was overcome and wept when he understood what she had suffered ; but we do not believe this, as the very same night, in Morton's house, he voted with other conspirators for her assassination. Who ever saw Moray weeping ? Nothing came of this interview. But for the queen's buoyant spirit she would have sunk under the brutality of this incident. The deed was, no doubt, due in great part to the duplicity of Darnley, who led the conspiracy on the conspirators stipulating that they would procure him the crown matrimonial. He was a weak-minded creature, with the disposition of a school-boy, and

championed this plot as a great feat and something to boast of. He little dreamt that the next act of the drama would be his own removal. The lawlessness of the times was well illustrated in the perpetration of this deed. Though it occurred in the very heart of Edinburgh, no steps were taken to make an example of the conspirators, some of whom of their own accord went to Newcastle, and lived for a time in retirement. That was no punishment; and it may be conjectured that the state of the country at this period was very much the result of the queen having a husband who was unfit to take any share in the government of the kingdom, and who was despised by the very faction into whose hands he had thrown himself.

Mary and Darnley had an interview next day, at which Darnley expressed his regret for what had happened, and his determination to have nothing more to do with the conspirators, adding, "I acknowledge my fault, and I ask pardon for it. I will do my best to atone for it. As my excuse I plead my inexperience and my great want of judgment. Now, at last, I have discovered how miserably cheated and beguiled I have been by the persuasion of these miserable traitors. They have dragged me into conspiracies against you,

against myself, and against our entire family. At last I see clearly what their real design is. They are aiming at the ruin of the whole of us. I take God to witness that I never could have believed that men could have sunk into such a depth of wickedness. I entreat you, my Mary, to have pity on me, on our child, on yourself." He then gave her the articles which had been drawn up, and signed by them and himself, and begged her forgiveness. We are indebted to her secretary Nau for the words actually spoken on that occasion. The queen answered the appeal with her usual frankness of manner and expression, for, as Nau tells us, she had never been trained to dissemble, nor was she in the habit of so doing. "Sire," said she, "you have done me so grievous an injury within the last twenty-four hours that I shall never be able to forget it; and neither the memory of our past friendship, nor the hope of your future amendment can win me over to do so. I have no wish to hide from you what my real convictions are. I may tell you, therefore, that I think you will never be able to repair the mischief you have done. You have thoroughly misunderstood the nature of your position. You have been trying to assume to yourself an authority independent of mine, forgetting that

without me you have no authority whatever. Look within, sire. Examine well your own conscience, and mark the blot of ingratitude with which you have stained it. You tell me you are sorry for what you have done, yet I cannot but think that this admission has been wrung from you by necessity rather than by true and earnest affection. Had I inflicted upon you the deepest of all imaginable injuries, you could not have revenged yourself with more ingenious cruelty. But I thank God that neither you nor any man living can charge me with ever having said or done anything which could justly displease you, unless it were for your own real profit. It is for you, therefore, to deliberate, and to act in such a way that we may mutually escape the danger." "Have pity on me, my Mary," said Darnley, "I assure you that this misfortune will make me a wiser man for the future. Never will I rest until I have revenged you upon these wretched traitors, if we can but escape out of their hands." The documents he put into her hands, we are informed, showed that he had consented to her deposition and imprisonment —in other words, to her death, and that he was ready to overthrow the Catholic Church if necessary. We do not doubt this, but the incident

shows what a weakminded and unprincipled man Darnley was, and in the hands of the conspirators he was as clay in the hands of the potter.

The situation was one for prompt and decisive action, and she agreed to join him in the attempt to escape from Holyrood. On his asking her to pardon the traitors, a request in the circumstances that seems appalling, she said: "I can never bring myself to stoop so low as to promise the thing which I have no intention of performing; nor can I do such violence to my conscience as to tell a lie, not even to such traitors as those men are who have used me so disgracefully. With you the case is different. You can, if you like, promise them anything you please in my name. As for me I will never pledge them my word." And so this painful interview terminated, the queen maintaining her dignity, while she expressed herself in a manner which might have crushed her weak-minded husband to the dust.

The plan which her friends proposed for her escape from Holyrood was this: She was to let herself down from the window of the chamber where she was imprisoned, and they would be waiting to carry her off. Lady Huntly had brought with her a ladder of ropes which she had succeeded in conveying into the room between

two plates as if they contained part of the queen's supper. The plan, however, was impracticable, as at the opposite window the guard was stationed. Darnley proposed that his father should accompany them. The queen gave this a prompt refusal; she could not trust Lennox, especially on such a momentous occasion; he had played the traitor too often already; she had little confidence either in his courage or his fidelity.[1]

Lady Huntly was at this crisis a faithful friend of the queen. Mary wrote a letter to Huntly indicating her plan of escape from Holyrood. Lady Huntly placed this letter for safety between her chemise and her body. While she and the queen were in the bedroom engaged in conversation, Lindsay had the indecency to burst into the room and order Lady Huntly to depart, not, however, until she was searched. The letter was not discovered. The conspirators, championed by Moray, sought an interview. It was an audacious act of these men, who had murdered Riccio the night before and outraged the queen, to expect that she was to receive them as if nothing had happened.

In the course of the day the conspirators had an interview with her to solicit her pardon for the

[1] *Stevenson*, "Nau's Memoirs."

murder, and to be restored to their estates and dignities. In the presence of their dethroned queen knelt, in mocking humility, the men by whom she had been insulted, deposed, and imprisoned. The room in which they were assembled had lately been the scene of a cowardly assassination ; and the blood of their victim was scarcely yet dry on the spot where now knelt the chief criminal. On one side of the queen stood her miserable husband, the tool of the conspirators and already doomed to be their next victim ; on the other side stood her unworthy brother, the author of all her sufferings and sorrows past, present, and to come. Morton spoke first, and defended the murder as a necessity ; and Moray spoke next. As Moray's signature is on the bond it is important to notice what he said. He swore by his God that he knew nothing of the crime before his arrival in the capital (which was that morning). Mary refused to pardon them unconditionally, because they had attacked her authority as a queen, and were guilty of rebellion ; they had plotted against the State, and were guilty of treason ; they had injured her as a wife, by weakening the tie which bound her to her husband ; they had spoken of the murder of her secretary as a trifle ; in her way

of thinking it was a crime of the blackest dye.[1]

In mentioning the obligations under which Morton lay to herself personally, she reminded him that, when it became known that he had joined Moray's party, she was urged by her husband and Lennox to cause him to be beheaded, and that he owed his life to her refusal; also that to her he was indebted for the earldom of Morton and the chancellorship of Scotland. "I do not think that I can promise you a full pardon, but I can promise you that, provided you endeavour to blot out past delinquencies by the fidelity of your future conduct, I will endeavour to forget the crime which you have just committed." This conditional pardon was not accepted, and what was she to do? If she granted it, they would commit another murder; if she refused, they would seize and imprison her. In so trying a situation she intimated that she felt ill, and that she was on the eve of her confinement. She requested that the *accoucheur* be sent for, and she retired to her bedroom. They sent an insolent message to her, demanding admittance to her presence. She replied that was impossible, and the *accoucheur* confirmed it. The meeting

[1] *Stevenson*, "Nau's Memoirs."

thereupon broke up. Stevenson has said of it, "In the presence of their dethroned queen knelt in mocking humility the men by whom she had been insulted, deposed, and imprisoned."

There is one thing conspicuous about this event, viz., the absence of Mary's supporters, such as Lords Herries, Seton, Hamilton, and Livingstone. She was fighting her way single-handed among the conspirators, and it is impossible she could be otherwise than overpowered, if those on whom she had a right to depend did not come forward to help her. Anything more grotesque than the incident just described could not well be. Did these men really want to be pardoned? The entire interview is more like a farce than a serious incident, and the subsequent conduct of the rebels shows how little they cared for a pardon, knowing as they did the state of the country. Their object was more to force on a Government crisis, and the deposition of the queen; and the best proof of this is that the interview took place the day after the murder, before the queen had recovered from the shock—a ridiculous time to prefer such a request. The queen's answer was more generous than they had a right to expect. George Douglas, who figures in this conspiracy, was not the Lochleven George Douglas, but the

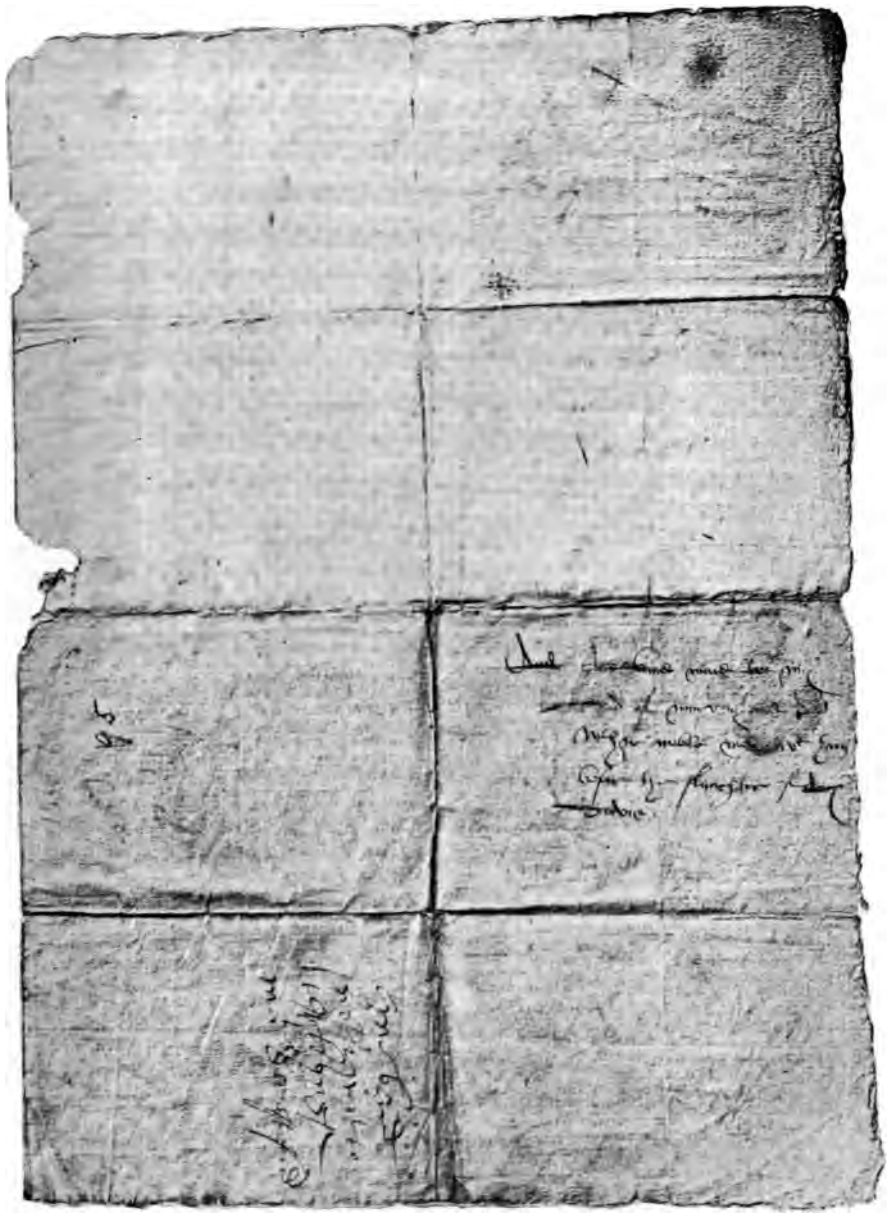
illegitimate son of the Earl of Angus, and known by the name of the "Postulate." His sister was Ruthven's first wife. Being a companion of Darnley, he was on good terms with the queen. There is a curious incident told by a recent historian.[1] Darnley and Riccio paid Douglas a visit at his residence in Lanarkshire, and all three went out in a boat to fish for pike, in a loch far away in the moors, and far from the "madding crowd." Here, as Riccio's back was turned toward them in the boat, Douglas proposed to Darnley to throw him overboard and so get rid of him, and they would never be called to account for it. Darnley, however, resented such a proceeding, and the matter dropped. The incident shows that evil had been brewing for some time against Riccio before he was assassinated.

The signatories to the bond for the murder of Riccio have never been accurately recorded, and the subject has consequently been one of considerable controversy. This controversy has been founded on the list of "names of such as were consenting to the death of David" in Randolph's letter to Cecil, March 21, 1566, deposited in the Record Office, which included the names of

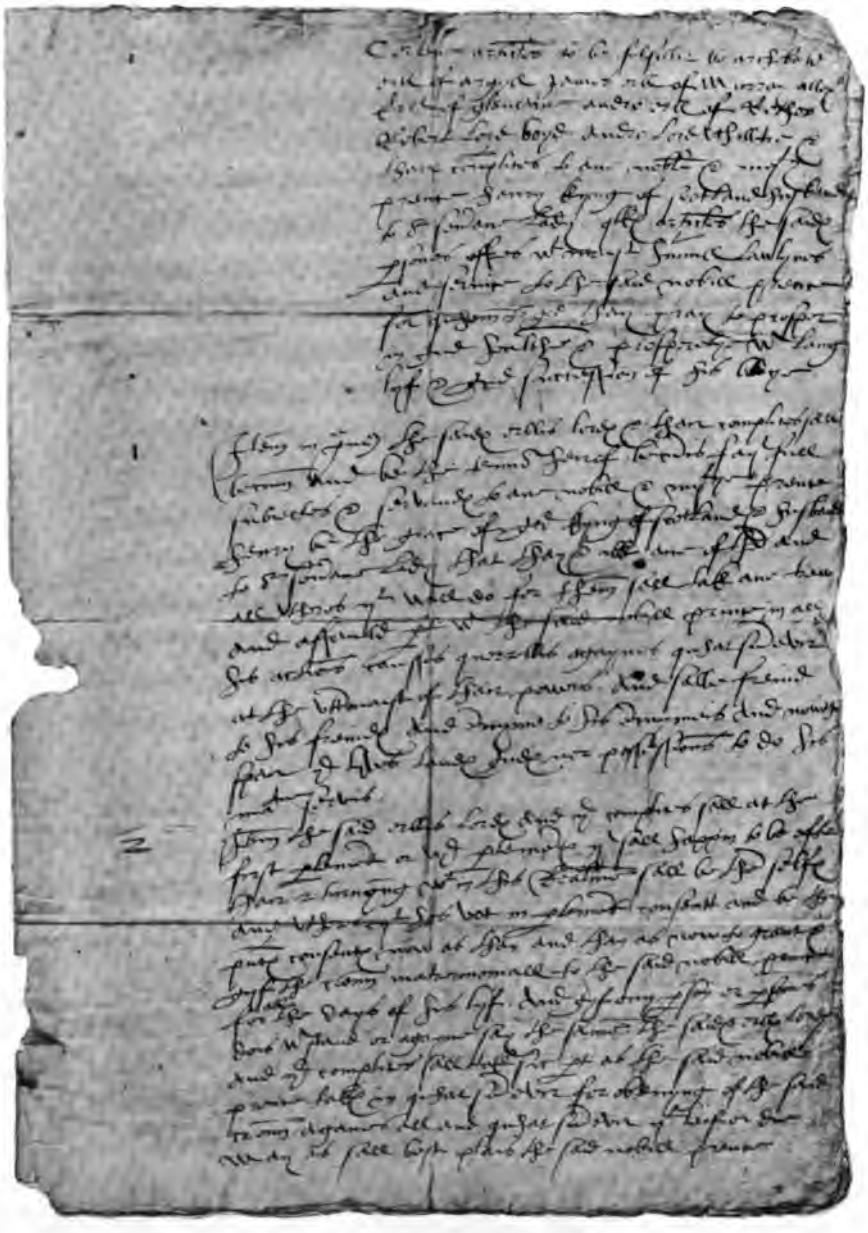
[1] *Robert Chambers.*

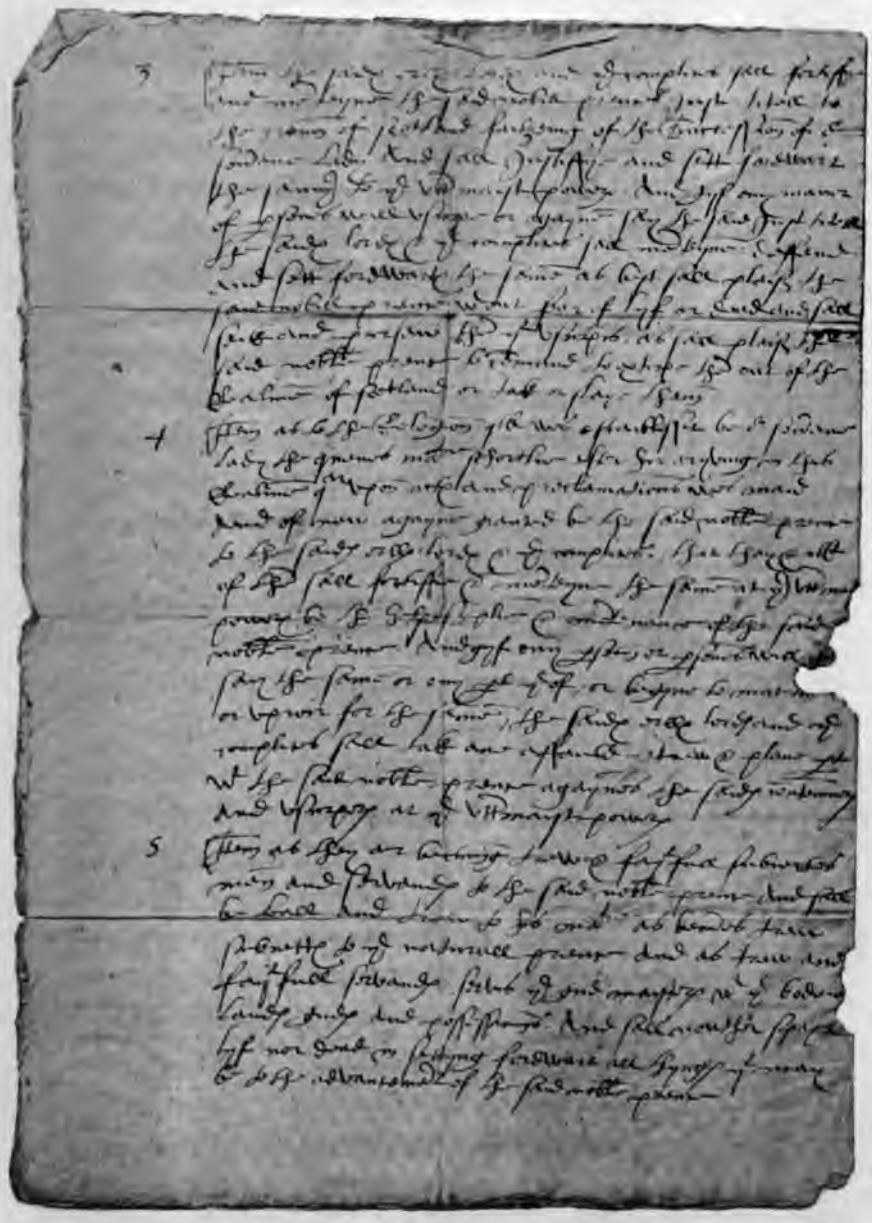
Knox and Craig; and the list of Bedford and Randolph to the Privy Council of March 27, 1566, without the names of Knox and Craig, deposited in the British Museum. The names in the first list are :—Morton, Maitland, Lindsay, Ruthven, Master of Ruthven, Ormiston, Brunston, Haughton, Lochleven, Elphinstone, Patrick Murray, Patrick Bellenden, George Douglas, Andrew Ker, John Knox and John Craig. This list is quoted by Tytler, while Hosack and Froude give other lists, and the curious thing is that all these are wrong. The author has recently inspected the original bond, and has been permitted by its custodier (Miss Elizabeth Leslie Melville) to reproduce it in this work. We therefore give a *fac simile* of this famous document. The signatories are Moray, Rothes, Ochiltree, Kirkaldy, John Wishart of Pitarro, and James Halyburton of Pitcur. The publication of the bond puts the controversy at rest, while it accentuates what we have alluded to in the beginning of this work, viz. the fraudulent and untrustworthy nature of some of the papers in the State Paper Office. Here we have two official lists of names materially differing from each other, written by two of Elizabeth's ministers, both lists being contrary to truth, and, for all historical purposes,

The following is a facsimile of this famous document :—



[*To face p.* 116, *Vol. I.* *For transcript, see Appendix, page* 385.





absolutely worthless. Randolph cunningly entitles them, "Names of those consenting to the death of David," and the reader forms the inevitable conclusion that these are the names attached to the bond. All that was required from Randolph was the signatories to the bond; but it did not suit his purpose to give posterity that satisfaction, as his dear friend Moray, who signed the bond with five of his satellites, would in that case have been strangled in public estimation. Moray's signature to the bond stamps him as the leader of this conspiracy, notwithstanding what historians say to the contrary. It will be noticed that in the list just quoted his name is carefully excluded. The bond is unchallengeable, and it suggests grave doubts of the integrity and straightforwardness of Randolph. Its discovery has an important bearing on the story of Mary's life. It was the first act of a great tragedy having for its ulterior object the murder of the king and queen.[1] The subsequent acts of this tragedy—a tragedy that is without a parallel in history—the reader will find fully recorded as the narrative proceeds.

[1] There were two bonds in connection with this matter, one by the nobles, as reproduced in *fac simile* in this volume; the other by Darnley to the nobles and by no one else. The Ruthven and Morton recital cannot affect the *veritas* of these official documents.

## CHAPTER IV.

**Escape of Mary and Darnley from Holyrood—Proclamation requiring the troops to assemble—Collapse of the rebels—Privy Council at Haddington—Morton, Ruthven, and others banished—Froude and Rokesby—Buchanan's History—Privy Council and Riccio's murder—Birth of James VI.—Visit to Mar House—Maitland pardoned—Jedburgh and the queen's illness—Return to Craigmillar, and meeting of conspirators there—Baptism of James—Queen pardons the Riccio murderers—Darnley's Glasgow visit—Mary visits him—Arrival at Kirk-of-Field.**

MARY and Darnley resolved that they would make their escape from Holyrood. Maitland, who was not present at the murder, though he was one of the conspirators, was sent for by the queen, and requested to get Moray and Morton to dismiss the soldiers and guards. After some difficulty this was done, and guards and conspirators left Holyrood for the night. The latter went to Morton's house, where Morton entertained them liberally. Mary and her maid, Margaret Carwood, at 2 a.m., stealthily descended a secret stair to a postern leading through the cemetery of the Chapel Royal, where five horses and riders were at their service under Lord

Traquair, captain of the Guard, and the company immediately rode off. It consisted of the king and queen, Sebastian Page and Margaret Carwood, Lord Traquair, Sir William Standon and Arthur Erskine. Their first stop was at Seton House, where Lord Seton received them joyfully. He had in waiting two hundred soldiers for the queen's protection. After resting there for an hour or two, the company set out for Dunbar under Lord Seton's escort. They arrived there before breakfast. The queen requested a fire to be lighted, and ordered some fresh eggs for breakfast. These were brought to her, and she cooked them with her own hands. After breakfast the queen immediately wrote letters to the king and queen of France, telling them of her troubles.

It is impossible to withhold our admiration of the coolness and courage of the queen, under these trying circumstances. She immediately issued a proclamation, summoning the loyal men of Scotland to rally round her, and at once eight thousand men came to her rescue. She saw that she was well supported, and intimated that if the conspirators remained in Edinburgh the governor of the castle would be instructed to fire on the town. This was a bold and clever action.

The conspirators were not prepared for it, and had no following that could face the queen's troops. They were in trouble, and had not calculated on the defection of Darnley and the escape of the queen. This proclamation caused the total collapse of their plans, the dispersion of their followers, and obliged them to escape for their lives. They despatched Lord Sempill to Dunbar to solicit a pardon, but Sempill got a refusal. Writs of treason were issued against Morton and Maitland, and their accomplices. The queen held a council at Haddington, when some changes in the administration were made. Morton, it is said, was removed from the office of Lord Chancellor, and Huntly appointed in his place. Sir James Balfour was made Clerk Register in place of Makgill. Maitland was removed from the office of Secretary and from the abbacy of Haddington, and Sir James Melville appointed Secretary, while Bothwell was appointed Lord Admiral. Next day the queen and her forces proceeded to Edinburgh. She declined to go to Holyrood, and took up her residence in the house of Lord Home, in the High Street.

On the 19th of March, in obedience to a Privy Council resolution, proceedings were instituted against Morton, Ruthven, and others.

They failed to appear, were outlawed, and their estates forfeited to the crown. In the midst of these troubles it is stated, and with some probability, that Mary seriously contemplated going to France, and leaving a regency under Moray, Mar, Bothwell, Atholl, and Huntly, but the scheme unfortunately fell through.

The plot of Lennox and Darnley against Mary's crown and life has been made very prominent by Tytler, who quotes a letter, Randolph to Leicester, of February 13, 1566, giving details. This plot evidently provided for the murder of Riccio, which happened at that period. Tytler says it is of great importance to the question of Mary's guilt or connivance to ascertain the truth of the existence of this plot, and he informs us that in Labanoff's collections he has discovered a paper, taken from the archives of the House of Medici, which strongly corroborates it. This paper, which Tytler gives in Italian, we reproduce in English, and the reader will form his own opinion about it. We do not admit the accuracy of Randolph's letter; this paper contains some conspicuous blunders, and appears to be a highly incorrect narrative of the proceedings which took place at Riccio's murder. The paper is entitled "News from Scotland on the 11th,

13th, and 28th March, 1566, about the proceedings in this kingdom:"—

"With the consent of the new king of Scotland, the Scottish rebels who were staying in England returned to their own country, and entered into treaty with the above-mentioned king to give him the hereditary crown, in order that he might be absolute monarch, if the queen should die without children. The king, having satisfied himself about this same thing, consented to the death of the queen, his wife, and had already consented to the death of David Riccio, the secretary of the said queen; he had caused her to be shut up in a room with a guard of the heretics in order that the Catholics should not be able to come to her rescue. In the mean time, the said heretics were ready to make the whole State consent to the coronation of said king, and also to the queen's being deprived of the Government. But as the king himself had conveyed this evil suggestion from the artful rebels to the people, and as the latter did not consent to it, he repented of his error and returned to the queen. He saluted her lovingly, and told her all that had happened, and asked her forgiveness for his evil disposition towards her. And she, with the greatest goodness of heart, and with a joyful countenance received him back, saying that she did not believe he had ever had so evil an intention against her; but that if there *had* been some slight want of fidelity towards her she prayed God to forgive him—she indeed, not only forgave him, but also those others who had persecuted her. And thus they were speedily

reconciled to each other, and began to seek for a way to save themselves.

"The fact of the king being with the queen made the heretics think that he was consulting with her, in order that she should sign her name to certain articles which they had demanded, treating of pardon and restoration of their possessions. The king having told the queen that he had promised to do this, she at once gave him permission to return to them and say that the queen desired to do everything they had asked. So the king returned to the heretics and read them the resolution, which was believed by them. He exhorted them to set the queen at liberty, and he himself promised to guard her so that she should not escape; they, in order to please the king, consented, and departed, leaving the queen in the king's charge. When the heretics had gone, the king and queen sent for a captain who was in their confidence. The latter came, bringing with him a good many Catholic soldiers, and entered by a secret entrance, which could not be seen by the enemy. Having been joined by the queen, they fled to a fortress called Dunbar, where they arrived at dawn, and there awaited the arrival of nine thousand Catholic foot-soldiers, with whom they set out against the said rebels, and drove them out of the kingdom. The said heretics returned to England.

"When the king and queen had returned to Edinburgh, where the above-mentioned incident happened, they commanded five of the principal men of that city to be beheaded on account of their having been the originators of the undertaking.

"When the Queen of England, who was the cause of

the whole thing, heard that the king and queen of Scotland were reconciled to each other, she was much disheartened, and caused her secretary Cecil to send notices all over the kingdom, saying that the cause of it all had been that the king had found Riccio sleeping with the queen—which was not in the least degree true."

According to Froude the queen "was preparing to stir up rebellion in Ireland, and, with the aid of English Catholics, to invade England, and to assert by force of arms her title to Elizabeth's crown." His authority for this is a letter from Christopher Rokesby to Cecil. Who, then, was Rokesby? He was a man who fled from London to escape imprisonment for debt. He was a spy of Cecil's, and from the vilest of occupations he eventually became an assassin.[1] What credit can be attached to the uncorroborated testimony of such a person? This statement is another of Froude's inventions. In the correspondence of the period there is no allusion whatever to any such conduct on the part of the queen as stated by Froude. Considering the difficulties of her position, she had, upon the whole, conducted the government of Scotland with remarkable prudence and success, and her moderation in matters of religion induced even the most

[1] *Hosack.*

powerful of the Protestant nobility to regard her claims with favour.[1]

What appears to be a more correct version of this incident is given by a recent writer.[2] It would appear that Cecil sent Rokesby to Queen Mary to inform her that many of the English nobility, especially the Catholics, were weary of Elizabeth's rule, and would make the attempt to throw it off if they might count on her approval of the undertaking. Mary refused, but this man was afterwards arrested and his papers taken from him. Among them was one from Cecil promising Rokesby, in name of Elizabeth, a grant of land of the annual value of £100 on the production by him of letters signed by Mary and addressed to the Percys, establishing the charge of her complicity in the intended rising against Elizabeth.

Buchanan was author of a book called the "Detection." The monstrous fictions of that book were duly reproduced in course of time by Knox. They disfigure many pages of Robertson, Laing, and Mignet. Froude declares his belief in the book. We can therefore be at no loss to ascertain whence he derived his notions of the character and conduct of the young queen of Scots.[3] It is a curious fact that not one of

[1] *Hosack.* [2] *Stevenson.* [3] *Hosack.*

these historians who adopt Buchanan's views has taken the trouble to verify them, or to ascertain if they were confirmed by contemporary evidence. Had they done so they would have discovered their error. Buchanan has written a fabulous and very incorrect history of the Queen of Scots, which has done much to injure her reputation. Various historians quote from it, and falsely make her guilty of her husband's murder, and of all the evils which followed that event. In our own day there are many students of history who persist in believing Buchanan, although no accusation of his against the queen can be verified. He had just completed his history when he died, in 1582. In 1584, only two years after its publication, it was condemned by the Scottish Parliament, and every person having copies commanded to surrender them within forty days, in order that they might be destroyed.[1]

Buchanan had been the most assiduous of her flatterers so long as she occupied her throne, but from the time that she became a captive he pursued her with the malice of a demon and his slanders were addressed not to his own countrymen but to Englishmen, who had no

[1] *Taylor.*

means either of verifying or refuting them.[1] Buchanan was born in 1506, and had a rambling career. He was for a time one of the heads of the Scots College at Paris, and he was also the tutor to the young Earl of Cassillis, at Paris. In 1547 he was similarly employed by the King of Portugal. In Paris he was a short time tutor to Queen Mary, and in 1564 she presented him with the living of the abbey of Crossraguel, in Ayrshire. The same year he was converted to the Protestant faith, and in 1566 was presented by Moray with the principalship of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. He was cunning enough to hold the Crossraguel revenues up to his death, consequently he had a Catholic and a Protestant appointment, and drew his income from both. In 1559 a conspiracy was got up to dethrone Mary and her husband, and make France a republic. The movement was discovered by the Cardinal of Lorraine. The result was that a number of executions took place of those known to be concerned in it. Strange to say, Buchanan was found to be one of the conspirators, and was condemned to death. What his motive could have been in joining this conspiracy is not clear, but he had to thank Mary for saving

[1] *Hosack.*

his life. She got his sentence revoked, an act that should have made him grateful to her for the rest of his days. He retired from the priesthood, and became one of the greatest of her persecutors, played the *rôle* of a false witness, and at the Westminster Conference gave false evidence against her. He received from Elizabeth a pension of £100 per annum in his later years, after he had served her purpose by denouncing Mary.[1]

An important meeting of Privy Council was held on the 11th of May. The sederunt included Moray, Argyll, Bothwell, Huntly, Atholl, Mar, the Provost of Edinburgh, and others. The object of this meeting is recorded to have been "to deal with the rebels." The record is conspicuous by its brevity, and it will be best to reproduce it exactly as it appears on the register :—

"The which day our sovereign referred to the Lords of Secret Council to devise the way how the rebels culpable or suspect of the late heinous attempt perpetrated in their majesties' palace shall be dealt with. The lords think it expedient that all who were at the devising, counselling, or at the committing of the murder shall be pursued by order of justice, and the same sharply executed upon them ; and as for the commons and others who accidentally came thereafter to their majesties' palace,

[1] Prince of literary prostitutes (*Hosack*).

they offered to abide the law for the devising, counselling, and actual deed of the murder: that their supplications be heard, and sentence, either by warding, banishing, or fining by payment of sums of money."

Moray, Argyll, and Mar being rebels, and Moray their leader, we cannot accept this extract from the official record (Privy Council Record) as impartial or *bonâ fide*. This was a case of the rebels sitting in judgment on themselves. The queen was not present, and the creation of such a report could have no other object than to mislead posterity. A few days after this, the death of Ruthven was announced by Morton, who with his friends was in banishment, Morton saying of Ruthven, "Whose end was so godly, that all men who saw it did rejoice." This was evidently a little of Morton's irony.[1]

A Privy Council was held at Edinburgh on the 8th of June, but the sederunt is not given. This meeting resolved to denounce as rebels, Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and thirty others, for the murder of Riccio, and put them to the horn for not appearing before the queen's

[1] On March 16th there is a charter of Queen Mary granting the kirk livings to the provost and magistrates of Glasgow for the support of the ministers, and the erection and endowment of a hospital for the poor and infirm in the borough (Sir James Marwick).

council as directed. They were also accused of the treasonable keeping and holding of the queen in captivity. Orders were given to apprehend the said persons, and bring them to justice. The lieges were commanded to cease and abstain from having any communication with them on pain of being denounced as rebels.

Early in June Mary wrote letters to several of her nobility, requiring them to be in Edinburgh at the birth of an heir to the throne. On the 19th of June she was safely delivered of a son. The event was announced by a discharge of guns from the castle. There were great festivities, lasting several days, and there was a large procession of citizens, who walked to the High Church, and had a thanksgiving service to express gratitude to the Almighty for so signal a mercy shown to the realm. At two o'clock Darnley came to see the child. A few nobles assembled in her bed-chamber. Mary, taking the child in her arms, presented him to Darnley with these words: "My lord, here I protest to God, and as I shall answer to Him at the great day of judgment, this is your son, and no other man's son; and I am desirous that all here, both ladies and others, bear witness, for he is so much your own son that I fear it may be the worse for him hereafter." Darnley kissed

the babe, and remained silent. To Sir William Standon, one of her officers who was present, she said, "This is the prince whom I hope shall first unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland." "Why, madam, shall he succeed before your majesty and his father?" "Alas," said she, "his father has broken to me." To which Darnley replied, "Sweet madam, is this your promise that you made to forgive and forget all?" "I have forgiven all, but can never forget," said she; "and if Faudonside's pistol had shot, what would have become of him and me both, or what estate would you have been in? God only knows, but we may suspect."

A special messenger was sent from Edinburgh to acquaint Elizabeth of the joyful event. He found her at Greenwich, giving a ball to her courtiers, and indulging in dancing. On receipt of the news she threw herself into an agony of despair, and is reported to have shed tears! On being asked the cause, she said to her maids, "The Queen of Scots is the mother of a fair son, while I am but a barren stock." Next morning, however, an agreeable interview took place between her and Mary's ambassador, Sir James Melville, and she agreed to be represented at the baptism by some of the ladies of the court. Mary remained

in Edinburgh till the 27th of July, when she went to Mar House, Alloa, to pay a visit to the Earl or Mar. It would appear that Maitland was under banishment at the date of this visit, in connection with the murder of Riccio. He and Darnley were foes. Moray and Bothwell, who were with the queen, took an opportunity of asking her to pardon Maitland. Darnley opposed this, but out of deference to Moray she granted the request. Darnley was right, though his motives were wrong, and she lived to repent it. They quarrelled over this incident, but a reconciliation afterwards took place, when the queen presented Darnley with a bed of violet-brown velvet, sewed with gold and silver threads, and lined with crimson-coloured watered silk. It is a curious coincidence that this is the bed which six months afterwards was destroyed at Kirk of Field. The queen went from Mar House to Stirling Castle, where she remained till the 11th of September, when, at the request of the Privy Council, she went to Edinburgh for the transaction of business.

It would appear that before going to Jedburgh Mary visited her husband at Stirling, and a curious incident occurred. Maitland also proceeded to Stirling, and took up his lodgings in the house of Willie Bell, in the High Street. He and

Darnley were at enmity, and he kept out of Darnley's way. Who Bell was is not clear, but Moray asked the queen to pardon Maitland, and restore him to his office of secretary. To do this the queen went to Maitland's lodgings, and privately dined with him, in order that she might talk over this matter without coming into contact with Darnley. This was a very pleasing incident in her life, and we believe Bell's house in Stirling can still be pointed out.

A Privy Council was held at Edinburgh on the 31st of July. The king and queen, in anticipation of being present at the justice court at Jedburgh, ordained letters to be sent charging the provost, bailies, and inhabitants to prepare meat, drink, and lodging for man and horse against said day, to be sold at reasonable and convenient prices. This, we are informed, was not attended to, and the merchants of Jedburgh raised their prices on the arrival of the court. On the 9th of October she proceeded to Jedburgh, to hold a court of assize. She was accompanied by Moray, Maitland, the Bishop of Ross, and others. It occupied six days. At a Privy Council at Jedburgh, on the 10th of October, a deliverance was given on the exorbitant prices exacted, fixing the following as

the prices: pint of ale, *5d.*; bread per pound, *4d.*; beef, mutton, and roast, *16d.*; every horse in stable for twenty-four hours, *2d.*; bed, *1s.* per night. The provost and bailies were required to see these prices adhered to, failing which they would be accused before the justiciary court and punished, as an example to others. It would be difficult to explain why such an unusual instruction was forced on the shopkeepers of Jedburgh. If exorbitant prices were charged because of the court, it was a very natural proceeding, as the court would create a heavy demand for provisions during the short time it was to remain there.

On the 17th of October, she went to Hermitage, accompanied by Moray and some of her nobles, to visit Bothwell, her lord lieutenant, who was lying ill from the effects of an accident. She spent two hours with him in presence of her nobles, and then returned to Jedburgh. Next day she herself took seriously ill of fever, rather suspiciously. Her secretary, Nau, gives the following account of it:—

"She lost the power of speech, and had a severe fit of convulsions. About ten o'clock at night, all her limbs became so contracted, her face distorted, and her body so cold, that all thought she was dead. She remained some time in this condition, and Moray began to help himself

to the most precious articles he could find, such as her rings and silver plate. Her physician, however, observed that there were signs of life in one of her arms. He bandaged her limbs very tightly. Then he poured some wine into her mouth, after which she gradually recovered, and afterwards returned to Edinburgh."

It is impossible to read the reports of the Jedburgh visit without coming to the conclusion that foul play was attempted on the queen, and was all but successful. Her physician asserted that certain symptoms were "very suspicious," conveying a pretty clear suggestion that the queen was poisoned. Historians have passed over this incident as, in their opinion, not of great moment, and the records of it are therefore brief. If she was poisoned, there can be no great difficulty in pointing to the source. The reference of Claude Nau to Moray shows how anxious Moray was to have the breath out of her body. On the 9th of November she was well enough to resume her journey. Berwick at this time was held by an English garrison, Sir John Forster being deputy governor. Mary visited Berwick on the 15th. Sir John was very doubtful as to whether the Scottish queen with her large following, was coming on a friendly, or a warlike mission. Mary, however, wished to see Berwick from a

distance, and he with a large retinue escorted her to Halidon Hill. He rode beside her all the way, and, it would appear, had a delightful conversation, which Mary much enjoyed. When she arrived at the summit, the English garrison fired a salute. Returning from the hill, where she enjoyed a beautiful view of the country, Sir John's horse accidently struck her above the knee, and so severe was the hurt, that she had to return to Home Castle, for two days to recover. Sir John fell on his knees and begged her forgiveness, but she gallantly said she was not hurt, and requested him to rise. She duly arrived at Craigmillar on the 20th of November, where she remained till the 11th of December. She was very fond of Craigmillar, and spent a considerable portion of her life there. Probably the attraction was "little Paris," the little village that occupies a portion of the ground of that estate, and which still is in existence. It was built to accommodate her French servants, and was a source of great happiness to her. As for Holyrood, it had no attraction for her after Riccio's murder. There were certain of the nobles still in banishment for Riccio's murder or for treason, such as Ruthven, Morton, Lindsay, and others. The first named was a son of the Ruthven who stabbed Riccio,

and an equally cold-blooded man. At that period this family had large possessions and considerable influence, which they gradually lost on account of their treasonable conduct. The banished men knew that Darnley would never counsel the queen to recall them, and so the conspiracy for his murder, doubtless all arranged before this date, was put forward under the cloak of the queen divorcing him. The time was opportune, as Riccio's murder had alienated the queen from Darnley.

The conspiracy could not be carried out without Bothwell, as he had his eye on all that was going on. They therefore played a bold game. They took him into their counsels, and, as a tempting bait, they resolved to unite in compelling Mary to accept him as her husband. Bothwell, with such a prize, at once consented to join them. Moray, Maitland, Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell, who were evidently living in Craigmillar as well as the queen, now acted the first part of the drama. On the 20th of November they waited on the queen in her presence chamber. Maitland, who was spokesman, referred to Darnley's evil deeds, and said that they wanted to put an end to her sorrows, and the best way to do so was to obtain a divorce.

He undertook to get this, provided she pardoned Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven for Riccio's murder. It has been stated by Mary's accusers that she agreed to this proposal, but there is no proof whatever that she did so. The statement is evidently mere conjecture. What she finally said to Maitland was this: "I will that you do nothing by which any spot may be laid on my honour and conscience, and therefore I pray you let the matter be in the state it is, till God by his goodness put a remedy to it. That which you believe would do me a service, may possibly turn to my hurt and displeasure." The same day, at Craigmillar, the bond for Darnley's murder was, at the request of these men, drawn up by Sir James Balfour, one of the most corrupt men of the time. It was as follows :—

"It was thought expedient and most profitable for the commonweal of the whole nobility, especially the lords undersigned, that such a young fool and proud tyrant should not reign nor bear rule over them, and that for divers causes they had concluded that he should be taken off by one way or other: and they agreed to defend and fortify whosoever should take the deed in hand, for it should be every one's action reckoned and holden as if done by themselves."

The bond is alleged to have been signed by

Moray, Maitland, Huntly, Argyll, Balfour, and Bothwell. Moray's signature wants confirmation. Fully a year afterwards, viz. on the 19th of January, 1568, in reply to the accusation of Huntly and Argyll, he wrote indignantly denying that he signed the bond, but admitted that he was present at the Craigmillar interview. In short, Moray and Maitland were the prime movers; Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell were merely lookers-on.

As great importance has been attached to this interview, it is desirable to have a correct version of it; but this is scarcely possible. Tytler's version varies from the foregoing. He tells us that Moray, Maitland, Bothwell, Huntly and Argyll formed the deputation, Morton and his accomplices being in banishment. When Maitland made the proposal for divorce, the queen signified her concurrence on condition that it should be legal, and that it should not prejudice the rights of her son. They proposed that Darnley should return to France, on which the queen drew back from the proposal, expressed a hope that he might return to a better mind, and signified her willingness to go to France till he acknowledged his faults. To this Maitland indicated, that, rather than subject the queen to such an indignity as retiring from her kingdom, it

would be better to substitute murder for divorce. This alarmed the queen, who replied that it was her pleasure that nothing should be done whereby any spot could be laid upon her honour.[1] Tytler adds, "It is certain that the queen commanded Moray, and Bothwell, and their associates to abandon all thoughts of any such design." In respect of Mary's guilt or innocence, this meeting is of great importance, and cannot be overlooked in our estimate of her character. It is one of the significant events in her career, and, while the *ipsissima verba* have not come down to us, we have sufficient to enable us to judge of her attitude towards this question, and who the individuals were who suggested the murder. To divorce Darnley would have been perfectly justifiable, but murder she would have nothing to do with.

An influential Catholic writer[2] says :—

"It is noted that, instead of warning Darnley of the conspiracy against his life, which the conversation presupposes, she let him, while an invalid, in a defenceless condition, take up his abode in the midst of his mortal enemies. Philippson seems to consider this the only conclusion of importance which lies against Mary respecting Darnley's murder."

[1] *Anderson's* Collection. [2] *Pollen.*

It cannot be admitted that "the conversation presupposed a conspiracy against Darnley's life." The text of the narrative as reproduced by various writers differs materially; and though Tytler's version states that Maitland proposed murder in place of divorce, we cannot accept that as final against other writers who do not name murder. What was actually spoken at the conference we have yet to ascertain. That divorce was proposed there is no reason to doubt, but we do not believe murder was named. Mary had nothing to do with the taking of Kirk of Field. It was taken for her by Maitland, as Darnley refused to go to Craigmillar. Darnley was no more among his "mortal enemies" at Kirk of Field than he was at Holyrood. Philippson has fallen into various errors in his criticisms of Mary.

Shortly after the Craigmillar meeting an interview took place between Bothwell and Paris his servant, which has been recorded. Bothwell asked what he thought of the plot. Paris reminded him of the troubles and misfortunes of his past life, from which he was now happily delivered, and of the extraordinary favour which he had attained; and endeavoured to dissuade him from the commission of the crime. "If you undertake this thing," he said, "it will be the

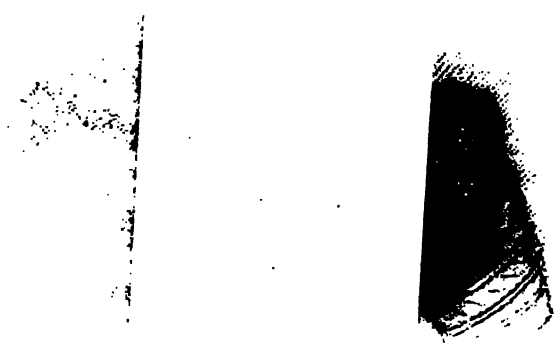
greatest trouble you ever had, for every one will cry out upon you and you will be destroyed." Said Bothwell: "Do you think I am doing this all alone by myself? I have already with me Maitland, who is esteemed one of the most prudent men in the country, and who is the undertaker of all this; and I have also the Earl of Argyll, my brother Huntly, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay. These three last will never fail me, for I have begged for their pardon; and I have the signatures of all those I have mentioned to you. We were desirous to do it the last time we were at Craigmillar." Assuming this interview to have taken place, it confirms the historical narrative that these men were in reality amongst the murderers of Riccio and Darnley, notwithstanding the bonds which authorized these atrocious deeds. Moray's name is conspicuous by its absence, and, though he was the leader, he was too shrewd a man to put his name to the Darnley bond: and if we can believe Bothwell, Maitland was "the undertaker of all this." This coming from Bothwell is not conclusive, because he was not at the origin of the plot, but was merely called in after it was arranged. Maitland was the spokesman of the conspirators, and one of the guiltiest of them; and

that would quite account for Bothwell's expression. Moray, presumably, was the author and instigator of the plot, as no one had the same interest in Darnley's removal; Maitland, in this conspiracy, was Moray's lieutenant, Moray taking care always to keep in the background. Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay supported Moray, and formed a prominent part of this Fenian brotherhood.

Mary was administering the government of Scotland at this period single-handed. She was supported by the army and by the great majority of her subjects. On the 11th of December she proceeded to Stirling, to make arrangements for the baptism of her son—an event that she desired should be celebrated with the utmost magnificence. Ambassadors arrived from England and France. The pope offered to send an envoy, but the queen, thinking it might offend her subjects, declined the offer—a proceeding that was most creditable to her judgment. The splendour of her preparations fairly astonished the people. Even Knox said "they exceeded far all the preparations that ever had been devised or set forth before in this country." Bedford, Elizabeth's ambassador, arrived at Stirling with a great retinue, a train of eighty horses, and a magnificent golden font from

Elizabeth, to be used at the baptism. This font is said to have weighed 333 oz., and was valued at £1043. At the ceremony the Countess of Argyll represented Elizabeth as god-mother, while the French king and the Duke of Savoy, represented by their ambassadors, were godfathers. The queen held a reception at Stirling Castle on the 14th of December for the purpose of receiving Elizabeth's embassy, and at this reception the gold font was presented to the queen.

In connection with this font, Elizabeth, who evidently was not wanting in humour, instructed Bedford to say "that it had been made as soon as she heard of the prince's birth, and that it was large enough then; but that, as she supposed he had now outgrown it, it might be kept for the next child." Mary's reply has, unfortunately, not been recorded. The prince was at this date six months old. The baptism took place in the East Church, Stirling, on the 17th of December. The infant was carried from his cradle to the chapel by the French ambassador, between two lines of barons and gentlemen, who had in their hands tapers of wax. It was a unique procession, with the Earls of Atholl and Eglinton, and the Lords Sempill and Ross carrying the great serge of wax, the salt, the code, and the



ed 17.

Tomo. More.

Bp. of Salisbury

basin and ewer. The Archbishop of St. Andrews received the infant prince in the entry of the chapel, and was assisted by the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Ross. The Countess of Argyll held up the infant, and baptism was administered by immersion in the golden font. Bedford and the Protestants, including Knox, stood by their own request outside the door, rather than be spectators of a Roman Catholic ceremony; but Atholl, Seton, and other barons were present at it. The queen invited the guests to a sumptuous banquet, after which she, and her guests, and a fashionable company danced for two hours. As part of the christening rejoicings, it is recorded that the Countess of Moray, on the day preceding the ceremony, kissed the Earl of Bedford without his leave.

Nau informs us that the following night another supper took place, which was attended by the queen and upwards of thirty persons. For the amusement of the company there came from the end of the hall a stage drawn by twelve satyrs, and, sitting upon it, six nymphs singing, and so against the bridge of the board at a place that did ascend, the stage stayed, the satyrs delivered the torches to standers by, the nymphs arose and delivered the first service to the satyrs,

who carried it to the board fully as much as did serve it plentifully for the first course. The second course was served with the same stage, satyrs, and nymphs as before; the third course with a conduit; the fourth with a child coming out of a globe, let down from the top of the hall to light upon the stage, and so rendered an ovation by words and writing, with another device which could not be brought to pass because the stage broke down after supper. All this was Mary's ingenuity.

As a fitting conclusion to this brilliant season, Mary pardoned Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and seventy-six of their associates for the murder of Riccio. The clergy wished to rebaptize the infant prince according to the Protestant form, but Mary declined to allow it. Darnley was not present at the baptism, because Elizabeth had prohibited her ambassador from recognizing him as king or giving him that title. Elizabeth had never forgiven him for breaking away from his allegiance to her. It is curious to see how historians treat this incident. Tytler says—

"The cause of his absence was his sullen and jealous temper, the coldness between him and the queen, and the ill-disguised hostility with which he was regarded by Moray, Bothwell, and the ruling party at court."

And Hill Burton says—

"As all seemed to expect, Darnley was absent from the baptism, and his conduct was the more emphatic, as he was then living in Stirling Castle where the ceremony was performed. Bothwell did the honours of the occasion as one to whom such a function comes naturally; and it was remarked as rather anomalous, that he, a Protestant, should have been selected to adjust and direct a ceremonial conducted under the form of the Romish Church."

Tytler and Burton had Labanoff's narrative before them: than Labanoff there is no better authority on the subject, yet they ignore altogether the true reason as given by that historian, and endeavour to make us believe that Darnley and Mary were at enmity with each other, for the purpose of creating another reason for connecting Mary with Darnley's murder. Further, Burton should have known that Bothwell was not present at the ceremony, and his narrative is therefore misleading, not to say absurd. As lord lieutenant he was officially bound to make the arrangements, but he refused to witness the ceremony because it was a Catholic function. And why was the infant six months old before baptism? The explanation is that Mary wished it to take place in St. Giles, Edinburgh, and to have mass performed on the occasion. The

authorities at St. Giles would not agree to this, and Mary, having experienced considerable delay in these negotiations, was obliged to proceed to Stirling, where no opposition was made to the ceremony being performed according to the Roman Catholic ritual. The refusal of the authorities of St. Giles indicates the strong feeling that existed on the religious question.

On the 5th of January, 1567, Darnley, who was living in Glasgow with his father, was seized with smallpox, and Mary, on hearing of this, sent her physician to be in attendance on him. She returned from Stirling to Edinburgh on the 13th of January, having, since the 27th of December, paid visits to Sir William Murray, the controller of her household, at Tullibardine, and to Lord Drummond at Drummond Castle. The bond for Darnley's murder having been signed at Craigmillar on November 20, 1566, Morton, Archibald Douglas, and Bothwell, met at Whittinghame to arrange the plan of campaign. Moray and Maitland were in communication with them, and instructing them. Everything was done to draw the queen into it, but in vain. Moray and Maitland were obliged to intimate the following *finale* to Douglas, to be given to Morton : " Show to the Earl of Morton that the queen will hear

no speech of the matter appointed unto him." Douglas had gone to Edinburgh from Whittinghame to see Moray and Maitland, and get their final orders. The conspirators held several meetings at Whittinghame in January, 1567. Douglas explains, in a letter to the queen in 1583, that before Morton and his companions left Newcastle, on their way back to Scotland after their banishment, they had all their plans complete for Darnley's murder. Then they drew up a warrant for his apprehension, and got some of her ministers to concur, but on presentation to the queen she indignantly refused to sign it. In short, it was impossible to get her to do anything prejudicial to her husband. She left Edinburgh with a retinue on January 24th, slept at Callender House that night, and went on to Glasgow next day.

Those interested in Mary's innocence or guilt will take note of the following dates. From the 13th to the 24th of January she was in Edinburgh. Of that there is undeniable proof. She was not in Glasgow till the 25th of January; and while Moray was cunning enough to put in his journal that she was accompanied by Huntly and Bothwell, we have proof that that is a false entry, Bothwell having gone to Liddesdale, and not to Glasgow at all.

Mary was much beloved by her subjects, for Lord Livingstone, the Hamiltons, and their followers escorted her to Glasgow: while on the road a great many joined her, so that, when she got to her destination, she had an escort, it is said, of five hundred horsemen. An incident occurred here which is worthy of being recorded as an illustration of Queen Mary's dignity, and the withering replies she could thrust home when she was offended.

Lennox was a man who always ran away when there was trouble ahead, but he was responsible for a great deal of the unhappy life of Mary and Darnley, in respect of the poison he instilled into the mind of his son. Some historians go the length of saying that he was responsible for the entire matrimonial misery that Mary endured. With that we do not agree, though it is undeniable that Mary suffered a good deal from the officious and meddlesome conduct of this unprincipled nobleman. On the present occasion, as he was living in Glasgow, he sent his servant, Thomas Crawford, with an express message, stating why he could not come to meet the queen, and begging her not to think it was from ignorance of duty, but because he was indisposed, and because of some sharp words she had spoken

to some of his servants at Stirling. Crawford, having been introduced into the queen's presence, delivered his message, at which she showed no signs of disappointment at Lennox's absence. She therefore said to him, "There is no receipt against fear." "My lord hath no fear for anything he knows in himself, but only for the unkind words you spoke to his servant," rejoined Crawford. Says the queen, "He would not be afraid unless he were culpable." To which Crawford replied, "I know so far of his lordship, that he decries nothing more than that the secrets of every creature's heart were written on their face." The queen, reminded of his presumption in replying to her in his own person, said, "Have you any further commission?" "No," said he. "Then hold your peace," she rejoined, and rode off.

This man afterwards became of great service to the conspirators. Being a servant of Lennox, he was frequently in the house where Darnley lay sick, but not in the sick-room. He professed to have taken notes of the conversations between Mary and Darnley, conversations that never took place, and which no historian can verify. Mary, who ordered this man to "hold his peace" for his presumption, was not likely to admit him into any apartment where she and Darnley were.

The notes condemn themselves, yet they found their way to Elizabeth, and prejudiced her against Mary. Evidence like this was too ludicrous to be seriously entertained, but anything to Mary's hurt was warmly received by Elizabeth. Darnley lived with Lennox at Glasgow Castle. Mary, during her visit, lived at the archbishop's palace, in the neighbourhood of the castle.

Mary went to Glasgow with nothing but the most loving devotion to her husband, and from that time, till his death, any other construction of her actions would be inconsistent with the best historical narratives of her life. She nursed him day and night during her visit, after which he proposed that she should take him with her to Edinburgh, to which she agreed. She suggested Craigmillar for an abode, as it was situated on rising ground and was very healthy. Curiously enough, he refused to go there; and as for Holyrood, its recent history put it out of the question. Mary in these circumstances wrote to Maitland to provide a house. Maitland, who recommended the Kirk of Field, is alleged to have shown this letter to Bothwell. This we think is very improbable. Bothwell was in Liddesdale, seventy miles distant. It is evident, as we have already stated, that Maitland was the mouthpiece of the faction

who, for purposes of their own, wished Darnley put into the Kirk of Field. Mary, who was surrounded with traitors, made the following reference to her Glasgow visit, in a letter to her ambassador in France: "God willing, our doings shall be always such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any way but honourably." It has been said that Moray and his faction bribed Darnley's domestics to poison him, but we have no means of confirming this, nor do we think it possible to do so. A modern writer,[1] who has fallen into some inaccuracies on this subject, proceeds to tell us that, at Glasgow—

"she employed her ductile arts on her diseased, suspicious, and terrified husband. She set herself to the task of quieting his fears and luring him back to her arms."

The writer has failed altogether to prove this, and his gratuitous calumny may be thrown aside as unworthy of notice. Tytler takes his narrative of this visit from a paper written by Crawford, and reproduced by Anderson, but, in view of Crawford's duplicity, it cannot be accepted. Moray's sagacity enabled him to avoid any direct connection with the conspiracy.[2]

[1] *Hill Burton.* [2] *Tytler.*

kitchen, and on the left Mary's bedroom. Outside, at the back, there was a turnpike stair, which led up to the second storey, where there were two rooms corresponding with those below. Darnley's chamber was immediately over Mary's. As her traducers, referring to the fittings of this house, charge her with putting in inferior articles, so as to strengthen their case against her, it is well that the inventories of her personal estate have been discovered, and that they set this matter at rest. The house was furnished by her with exquisite taste. There was a bed of violet velvet, fringed with gold and silver, and having a silk palliasse, table with cloth of green velvet, a high chair covered with violet velvet, sixteen pieces of tapestry, a dais for the hall in black velvet with double draperies, and a double-seated chair of State, covered with yellow and red royal taffety or watered silk. There were abundance of other things all showing her anxiety to make her husband comfortable. Many false statements written about this period do not surprise us. For example, the only one of the Kirk of Field servants who escaped with his life says that, on the arrival of the queen with her husband, a bed of black figured velvet had been placed in his room, but that she ordered it to be taken away, and an old

travelling bed put in its stead. This statement was an audacious lie. During the short time Darnley was at Kirk of Field, Mary and he were on the most affectionate terms ; *e.g.*, one day Mary entered his chamber and found him closing some of his letters to his father, that in her absence he had been writing. Darnley allowed her to read them. She did so, and found they were filled with her praises, and details of her kind attention to himself, expressing his confident hope that all things would change for the better. Mary was so gratified that she embraced and kissed him, and told him how much pleasure it gave her, to see that he was satisfied with her, and that no lingering cloud of jealousy or suspicion was hovering in his mind.[1] This incident is a reply to the base libel that she desired her husband's death. An amusing passage occurs in one of the forged letters : "Her husband had generously declared his intention of making no will, but leaving everything to her." Darnley had absolutely nothing to leave. They slept ten nights in this house, Mary all the time devotedly nursing him. Moray knew all that was going on, but was cunning enough to keep out of it. He wanted Darnley's place in the counsels of the queen, and to be *de*

[1] *Strickland.*

*facto* governor of the kingdom. Travelling to Fife on the night of the murder, Lesley, in his defence of Mary, says of Moray that he made the following remark to one of his confidential servants: "This night, ere morning, Lord Darnley shall lose his life." This statement has been reproduced by various historians. We think, however, it is premature. Moray was so close and self-possessed that he would never allow such words to cross his lips. Three days before the murder his brother, Lord Robert Stuart, told Darnley of a conspiracy against his life. Darnley informed Mary, who sent for Stuart; but, in presence of her husband and Moray, he denied that he said so. It is said that Darnley got into a rage, and that Stuart and he grasped their swords, but Moray stepped between and stopped them.

## CHAPTER V.

Murder of Darnley—Proclamation by the queen, and reward of £2000—The insulting placards—James Murray their author—Queen retires to Seton House—Elizabeth's hypocritical letter to Mary—Mary's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow—Resolution of the Privy Council to prosecute Bothwell—Bothwell's trial and acquittal—Opening of Parliament—Act of Toleration passed—Moray's alleged will—His character and general policy—Mary's interview with her son at Stirling—Bond signed at Ainslie's supper—Forged documents relating to the marriage—The lords request the queen to marry Bothwell, and her refusal—Bothwell seizes her, and takes her to Dunbar—Act of Parliament for his forfeiture—Paper compulsorily written by Mary relieving rebels of all responsibility—The Bothwell divorce—Proclamation of banns—The Bothwell marriage—Representations by Mary to the pope—The Bothwell bogus marriage contracts—Pope Pius V. and Queen Mary—The cardinal secretary, and bishop of Mondovi—Parliamentary recital of the marriage—Pope pronounces it null and void.

FEW events have been surrounded with so much mystery, and so much treachery, as the murder of Darnley. From the day that he married the queen, and ousted Moray from her confidence, his doom seems to have been fixed; although it was not till after Riccio's murder, and his facile behaviour on that occasion, that the deed was

resolved upon. It is impossible for any student of history to concur with the action of the nobles at this period. Moray had them under his thumb, so to speak, and there is no reasonable doubt that for the reason just stated Moray despised Darnley. It is evident that the conspirators of Riccio continued their bond of union, and proceeded with the plot for the removal of Darnley, and a skilful plot it was. From the State papers in the Record Office, and papers in private collections, we get at best but a fragmentary narrative of it, and we must form our own judgment respecting the accuracy even of these fragments. Whether Moray at this date contemplated also the removal of the queen is not clear, but there is strong probability that he did. The plan of the conspirators being now matured, and all arrangements completed for the perpetration of the deed, the work proceeded expeditiously. Bothwell, it would appear, was entrusted with the final execution of the plot, and with the responsibility of seeing it carried out.

The first thing was to fix the night for blowing up the house when Mary would be sleeping at Holyrood. They had not long to wait, as Mary had promised to attend a ball there on the occasion of two marriages connected with her household, viz. the French cook, Sebastian Page,

with Christina Hogg; and John Stewart, of Tullymet, with Margaret Carwood, one of her waiting-maids. Bothwell, on the fatal night, supped at the banquet given to the queen. She rose from the table, and, accompanied by Argyll, Huntly, and Cassillis, returned to Darnley. She was also accompanied by some of her ladies-in-waiting. Bothwell followed, and joined the queen and her friends in Darnley's apartment. The queen left for Holyrood a little before eleven o'clock. She met Paris, Bothwell's *valet de chambre*, and noticing that his face was blackened with gunpowder, she exclaimed, in the hearing of some of her lords, just as she was mounting her horse, "Jesu, Paris, how begrimed you are!" At this Paris turned pale, but ventured no answer. As she was entering Holyrood she met Dalgleish, one of Bothwell's servants, and asked him where he had been that he smelled so strongly of gunpowder. Dalgleish made an excuse, and passed on. Bothwell had had the gunpowder, which he himself supplied, carried into Mary's bedroom (which was immediately under Darnley's) in the early part of the evening; and, to make sure, he had locked in two of his servants with it, viz. Hay and Hepburn, so that they would be available to fire it when the time came. With unblushing

servant. There is another statement which goes to confirm the opinion that Darnley was strangled. Archibald Douglas, one of the most active of the conspirators, left his house in the evening, dressed in a coat of armour and wearing a pair of velvet slippers over his boots. These were for the purpose of ascending the stair to Darnley's bedroom without being heard. Whether Douglas went up the stair we do not know, but Darnley and his valet are reported to have made their escape from the bedroom, but were caught in the garden and strangled there. One of the velvet slippers was found next day among the ruins of the burned house, which proves that Douglas was among the conspirators. In short, it is said by some writers that Douglas and Sir James Balfour assisted to set fire to the powder.

Burton has failed to prove his contention about this matter, quoting, in addition to Buchanan, the authority of Hubert or Paris. Paris was in the employment of Bothwell, and was a notorious liar. On such authority Burton informs us that, on the day of the murder, "Mary was solicitous about a coverlet of marten skin, which she had directed him the day before to remove from the Kirk of Field." As a matter of fact it was Margaret Carwood who was sent to

look after this. Mary had nothing to do with it. Burton further informs us that, on the day of the murder, Mary supped with the Countess of Argyll at four o'clock. What Mary did on that occasion was to attend a banquet in her honour by the Bishop of Argyll and the nobles —an official engagement, quite a different thing from "supping with the Countess of Argyll." The same writer informs us that about ten o'clock, p.m., Mary went to visit Darnley, but, suddenly recollecting she had to attend a masked ball, she, immediately after seeing him, bade him an affectionate farewell for the night. What occurred was this. Mary was with her husband most of the day. She did not remain at the banquet more than two hours, went back to her husband, and remained with him from six to eleven p.m. That she went to visit him at ten is incorrect. On leaving him at eleven o'clock she kissed him affectionately, and put a gold ring on his finger as a token of affection, bade him "good night," and went off to fulfil her engagement to her domestics by attending the marriage ball—intending to return to her husband in the morning as usual. She was not more than half an hour or so at the ball, for it is proved that she retired before it struck twelve. There was

no such person as Burton quotes called "Bastiat," who was the bridegroom of the evening. The bridegroom was Sebastian Page, one of the *chefs* of Mary's household.

The queen issued a proclamation offering a reward of £2000 and a pension for life to whoever would reveal and bring to justice the persons by whom the murder had been committed. The proclamation declared that Almighty God would never suffer such a horrible deed to lie hid, and before it should remain so the queen's majesty would rather lose her life and all. To add to Mary's troubles she received, the day after the tragedy, a letter from Archbishop Beton, advising her that "some formidable enterprise was in preparation against her, and warning her to take care of herself, and double her guards." That Mary was enduring inexpressible agony at this period is obvious. Her very spirit for the moment was almost crushed out of her. She felt that her life was to go next. To protect herself against assassination she left Holyrood with her infant prince, and took up her residence in Edinburgh Castle. She shut herself up in a dark chamber, and would see no one till after Darnley's funeral. Darnley, whose body was embalmed, was interred in the royal vault of the chapel

commanded to appear before the queen to answer to the charge; but we have no information that he did so. Murray was an ingenious fellow, and doubtless had to do with all the caricatures which were so insulting to the queen. It is said that the conspirators rewarded him with a pension for life.

Moray was in no hurry to return to Edinburgh after the murder, and Bothwell, Maitland, Huntly and Argyll became the rulers for the time at Holyrood. It was not difficult to see that suspicion could be raised against the most innocent persons, so long as there were mischievous individuals to keep up these incendiary placards night after night. Unfortunately for Mary, they aroused a great deal of feeling against her. Dunkeld House, the residence of Atholl, became the rendezvous of the conspirators, and they met there for the purpose of resolving what measures were to be adopted for avenging Darnley's death. It was, altogether, the refinement of ruffianism, these men being themselves the murderers. Then Elizabeth joined them, and, as if Mary was not sufficiently overwhelmed, she indulged in the following piece of buffoonery. She wrote Mary:—

"Oh, madam, I should neither perform the office of a faithful cousin, nor that of an affectionate friend, if I

studied rather to please your ears than to preserve your honour. Therefore I will not conceal from you that people for the most part say that you will look through your fingers at this deed, instead of avenging it; and that you have not cared to touch those who have done you this pleasure, as if the deed had not been without the murderers having that assurance."

Mary's reply to this letter has evidently not been preserved. Elizabeth was well aware of every movement of the conspirators, and equally well aware of the entire circumstances which instigated and brought about this conspiracy. Her great aim was to get Moray put into supreme power, in order that the administration of Scotland should be subsidiary to her august command; for Moray, in her hands, was a mere figurehead.

Mary wrote Archbishop Beton with reference to the murder :—

Ere it should remain unpunished we had rather lose life and all. This matter is horrible, and so strange, as we believe the like was never heard of in any country. The night past, being the 9th of February, a little after two hours after midnight, the house wherein the king was lodged was in one instant blown in the air (he was lying sleeping in his bed) with such vehemency that of the whole lodging walls there is nothing remaining, no not a stone above another, but all carried far away, or dung into dross

to the very ground stair. It must have been done by force of powder, and appears to have been a mine. By whom done, or in what manner, appears not as yet. We doubt not but, according to the diligence our council has begun to use, the certainty of it all shall be seen shortly, which we wot God will never suffer to lie hid. We hope to punish the same with such rigour as shall serve for an example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Whoever has taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we assure ourselves it was meant for us as well as for the king; for we lay the most part of all the last week in the same lodging, and was there accompanied with the most part of the lords that are in this town; that same night at midnight, and of very chance, we tarried not all night by reason of some mask in the abbey; but we believe it was not chance, but God that put it in our head.

MARIE R.

Edinburgh, February 11, 1567.

A well-known writer[1] says—

"This letter is only signed, not, as is generally supposed, written by Mary, who was incapable of entering into the details of the frightful occurrence."

Another[2] says—

"The original of this letter is now lost, and we have not the means of knowing whether it was written in her own hand. The probability is that it was not. But there is no doubt that it is her own."

From what the former says it does not appear

[1] *Miss Strickland.* [2] *Burton.*

that the original is lost, and the latter (Burton), who says so, gives no authority. We consider the former view more likely to be correct. This was an age which might be called "the reign of terror." When any one was to be murdered, nothing was simpler than to perpetrate the deed —all that was required was a bond. There was a bond for the murder of Riccio, and another for the murder of Darnley. There was also a bond for Mary's compulsory marriage with Bothwell. Morton, who fourteen years after was executed, and justly so, for being one of the murderers, said on the scaffold that, at a meeting at Whittinghame, Bothwell tried to persuade him to join in a conspiracy for the murder of Darnley, but he would not. Notwithstanding this statement, there is evidence that he was one of the conspirators. Burton goes at great length into Lennox's correspondence with Mary about the prosecution of the murderers and the trial of Bothwell. The source of his information is untrustworthy. He tells us—

"they saw such distinct evidence of the queen's infatuated love for Bothwell that they believed she would marry him, and that the more superficial impediment of his having a wife alive would be got over."

If, instead of quoting Buchanan, Laing, and

Drury, Burton had quoted from some of the more learned and truthful historians, his narrative would have been the reverse of what it is. To speak of Mary as "infatuated" with Bothwell is a libel. There is undeniable proof that she despised him. For such slanders we must have other evidence than the *ipse dixit* of these three writers. Burton finds fault for the delay she caused in bringing Bothwell to trial, and ascribes that to a wrong motive. When the circumstances are looked into, the delay was not Mary's fault at all. The trial could not have been fixed earlier, as the correspondence between her and Lennox extended over six weeks. Regarding the murder, it was represented as arising from the queen's hatred of her husband, and her love for Bothwell; and the alleged Glasgow Letters, or Casket Letters, were obviously got up to give this aspect to the case, for they implicate only her and Bothwell. But this ridiculous view is inconsistent with the undoubted guilt of the leading nobility, who, from motives either of interest or revenge, nearly all desired Darnley's death.[1] Dr. Skelton's belief in her innocence is unqualified. He has not taken up a middle position, as has been assumed by a recent writer,[2] who says—"Mary

[1] *Hosack.* [2] *Henderson.*

did not conceal her eager desire to be delivered from the yoke of marriage to him." On what authority is this stated? There is no proof whatever that Mary ever desired to cancel her marriage with Darnley, but there is proof that she refused to do so specially when Maitland and the other conspirators importuned her at Craigmillar. And Dr. Skelton never said that "Mary was not wholly ignorant of the plot." His opinion is the reverse of this. Again, if Bothwell was permitted to visit Darnley at Kirk of Field, so were the other ministers of Mary—Moray, Morton, Maitland, and Ruthven. There was not the faintest idea in Mary's head that a plot for Darnley's murder was being formed. Those who say so have no proof that will stand examination. Bothwell never was a companion of Mary, nor is there any evidence that she ever had anything to do with him except in his official capacity. And who were the friends who warned her against marrying Bothwell? The Ainslie bond obliged the signatories to see the marriage carried out. Mary's consent was never asked, Bothwell being authorized to seize her, and carry her off. In virtue of this all the subsequent trouble followed. And what is there in her conduct for three months after the marriage to incriminate her?

There was the acquittal of Bothwell. She had nothing to do with that. There was the visit to Seton House, of which so much has been made but nothing proved.

There was a meeting of the Privy Council at Edinburgh on March 28th, and Bothwell's name appears in the sederunt. It is recorded that the proclamation calling the assize for the 12th of April, to investigate the murder, was in the following terms—

"The Queen and Lords of her Privy Council resolve that Bothwell and remanent persons suspected be put to assize for the said murder, and justice administered to them according to the laws of this realm. Therefore ordain the justice clerk to direct letters at her majesty's instance, citing the Earl of Lennox and all others who will accuse the said Bothwell and those suspected of the murder by open proclamation at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dumbarton, and other places needful, to compear in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, before the justice and his deputies, on the 12th of April next, and there pursue the said Bothwell and his accomplices, or otherwise do what is necessary and expedient for the clear trial of the matter."

In the face of this and other movements on the part of the queen, there does not seem to have been any inaction after the murder, as some of

her accusers allege. A well-known writer[1] says—

"There was first a period after the murder of unaccountable inaction, during which time she rather increased than diminished the indiscreet favour which for some months past she had been showing Bothwell. There can be no question that Mary's name must remain unsullied by the guilt of the Darnley murder."

The alleged inaction after the murder cannot be proved. Her activity after the deed, in doing everything in her power to discover the murderers, is fully established by the narrative of every impartial historian who has written on the subject. Considering the peculiar circumstances which surround this unfortunate event, we do not think it possible that any one in the queen's position could have done more than she did. We must remember that the murderers were her ministers, and that they thwarted every attempt of hers to find out the guilty persons.

We are informed that various meetings of the Privy Council were held to consider the prosecution of those named in the placards posted at night by the conspirators. Bothwell immediately protested his innocence. "His

[1] *Pollen.*

name had been coupled with this odious accusation: he could not allow so foul a blot to be thrown on his character." He was accused, by the Laird of Ormiston, of being the leader of the conspirators; and Bothwell took out of his pocket the bond signed by Sir James Balfour and the others. It was subscribed by them all, he said, "three months before the deed was done." Bothwell was well qualified to defend himself, but as the members of the Privy Council had all, or nearly all, signed that bond, there was little chance of their condemning him. His trial was fixed for the 12th of April, and, as usual, Moray left Edinburgh three days before, so as to avoid it, but he instructed Maitland and Morton to deal with the matter. The queen pressed him to stay, but in vain. "He was wearied of public business, and meant to spend five years abroad." He went to London, and was received by Elizabeth with open arms. It is a significant fact that after this visit the despatches from Elizabeth to her ambassador in Scotland assume a tone of malignant slander against Mary. The trial of Bothwell took place as appointed. He was guarded on the occasion by two hundred armed followers, and escorted by some thousands of volunteers. Argyll, the justice-general, presided, and Lindsay,

Henry Balnaves, and James MacGill, notorious foes of Mary, were judges, with fifteen of a jury. Morton declined to be present because of the enmity that existed between him and Darnley. Lennox, as usual, showed the "white feather," and stayed at home because of indisposition; and, as there was no other accuser, the trial proved a farce, Bothwell being acquitted.

His judges were themselves accessory to the murder. It would appear that a servant of Sir James Balfour, who was at the murder, was secretly killed, as it was believed he meant to turn queen's evidence, and divulge the whole plot. No one else but Bothwell was tried. Balfour offered himself, but nobody could be found with sufficient courage to give evidence against him. He was one of the guiltiest of the lot, but those whose evidence would have condemned him had no protection whatever, and would have paid for this with their lives. It is said that Moray loaded him with hush money, a pension for life, and church lands, so as to keep him quiet. Whether or not, it is a fact that no inquiry was made about any of the persons named in the placards as being art and part in the murder. Mary's accusers are careful not to dwell on this incident, which must be regarded as another point in her

favour. According to some writers,[1] the queen hurried on the trial to oblige Lennox, and she had much reason to be displeased at his want of courage in not coming forward. It was not Mary's fault that the trial was a mockery. Tytler gives no authority for his assertion "that she was a passive instrument in the hands of a faction." The statement cannot be verified. Mary never gave up her independence, and if there was one principle she preserved to the last, it was that. Another reason is that the circumstances did not warrant such a surrender. Were it not for the high-principled and devoted ladies who were her companions, Mary could scarcely be said to have had an honest individual about her. Tytler quotes largely from Drury's papers at the State Paper Office, but it is a notorious fact that Elizabeth's ambassadors were foes of Mary, deceitful and false in their despatches, of which we have abundant proof. And they could not help themselves: Elizabeth gave them inspiration, and they must either be guided by it or lose their appointments. This is another reason that makes it so difficult to extract the truth from the papers in the State Paper Office.

Notwithstanding Dr. Skelton's "not proven,"

[1] *Burton.*

there is no doubt that Maitland was accessory to Darnley's murder. Dr. Skelton says—

"We find in him a combination of qualities that are rarely united. On the one side he is a keen suppliant, dexterous, adroit: on the other strong, resolute, constant, fearless. The basis of his character was an eminent common sense."

We cannot endorse this view. The traditional belief in Mary Stuart's innocence, which has lingered for three centuries in the hearts and homes of Scotland, proves how strongly the power of moral evidence, and the victorious influence of truth have wrestled with the dying spirit of political defamation, and kept alive the interest involved in the controversy, till the prejudices of her calumniators should in the fulness of time be made manifest.[1]

Another writer[2] says:

"Mary at first adopted the decorous gloom proper to her situation, and shut herself out from the world. She promptly assumes, in her letter to Beton, that the explosion came from a mine. The question of her good faith in starting the idea depends on whether she knew that the powder was piled in her sleeping-room."

All this is conjecture. There is no authority for saying that Mary's grief was artificial; and, in

[1] *Strickland.* [2] *Burton.*

regard to the mine, there is ample proof that during the time the powder was in the bedroom Bothwell had it locked and guarded, and the queen knew nothing about it. She was not in this apartment the whole of that day, and she slept that night at Holyrood. This writer adds—

"As all the picturesque accounts of the state of the public mind at this time are taken from Buchanan, we get the clearest statement by taking his own words."

Buchanan's statements have all been exploded by modern research, and it is curious that of all authorities Burton should have selected him. Darnley's mother, Lady Margaret Lennox, who was thrown into prison by Elizabeth, was only liberated a few days after the murder. The unfortunate lady never saw her son after his marriage. Elizabeth, on releasing her, was wicked enough to let her understand that Mary murdered Darnley. After this, we are informed that she broke forth into loud complaints, and passionately accused Mary of the deed. The sufferings of this lady in prison were such that she was considerably disfigured, and under the strong agitation of sorrow she presented a petition to Elizabeth, urging the trial of Mary and the execution of justice. Elizabeth, with her usual hypocrisy, said,

"It was not becoming to fix a charge so heinous upon a princess and her kinswoman without producing the clearest evidence." Lady Lennox lived to repent of this, and to be satisfied of Mary's innocence.

This is the period when the conspirators created slanders about the queen and Bothwell. Moray, in his despatches to Elizabeth, said that, from the 21st of March to the 5th of April, "she was at Seton, passing the time merrily with Bothwell." Now, what is the truth? She was not at Seton at all during that period, but at Edinburgh, and when she was at Seton Bothwell was not there. A very good authority[1] says—

"Upon the 16th day of February our sovereign lady passed from Holyrood to Seton, and left the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell in the palace of Holyrood to keep the prince until her return."

As illustrating the treachery of the time, let us look for a moment at this visit to Seton House. Moray says it was from the 21st of March to the 5th of April. Drury, the English ambassador, writing to Cecil, February 21st, says: "She and Bothwell shot at the butts against Huntly and Seton." If Moray was right, then Mary had not been at Seton at all when Drury wrote. If Drury

[1] "Diurnal of Occurrents."

was right, the "Diurnal of Occurrents" tells us that on that occasion Bothwell was not at Seton at all, but that he was specially left behind at Holyrood. Both dates refer to the same visit. It is clear, therefore, that to connect Bothwell with this visit is a pure invention. Burton repeats this error. He tells us about Mary visiting Seton House at this crisis, and how Bothwell and she spent the time merrily. Burton makes this statement on the authority of Drury. Strickland says, "The story is utterly devoid of truth." She says, further, "it was adopted too hastily by Tytler from one of the budgets of scandals of the Scottish queen that was transmitted by Drury to Cecil for the amusement of Elizabeth." Mary's case was calculated to excite compassion, for she was oppressed with melancholy, notwithstanding the great elasticity of her mind and body. She was at this period, age twenty-five, the responsible administrator of the government, and had a Privy Council composed of treacherous men. Drury further says in his letter: "And on one occasion, after winning the match, they forced these lords to pay the forfeit in the shape of a dinner at Tranent." This is another of Drury's fictions. This ambassador never could write the truth about Mary, and was never known to say anything to her

credit. On the 9th of March, a month after the murder, Sir Henry Killigrew brought her a message from Elizabeth, and, writing afterwards to his mistress, said, "To see her face was impossible, for the chamber was dark, but by her voice and manner she seemed in profound grief." Tytler, speaking of Killigrew's departure, and taking his inspiration from Buchanan, says—

"Scarce, however, had this envoy departed when the queen seemed to have forgotten her good resolutions; and, infatuated in her predilection for Bothwell, admitted him to greater power and favour than ever."

This is an unfounded and unwarrantable accusation, and ought not to have been reproduced except on *bonâ fide* authority, which Buchanan is not. Mary, it is alleged, substituted Bothwell for the Earl of Mar as governor of Edinburgh Castle and she gave him also Blackness. Bothwell, from his official position, was entitled to the first of these appointments, the murder of Darnley notwithstanding. When she was a prisoner in Holyrood he stood by her, and helped her to effect her escape. When she returned to Edinburgh from Dunbar with an armed force of eight thousand men, it was Bothwell who was the means of getting it up so promptly, the effect being that the conspirators fled, and Mary resumed her authority.

When he was appointed governor of Edinburgh Castle he was the least treacherous of her treacherous nobles. That Mary bestowed these offices on him on anything but public grounds, there is no reason to believe.

On the 15th of April, 1567, three days after the Bothwell trial, Parliament was opened by the queen in person. She rode in state from Holyrood to the Tolbooth, Argyll, Bothwell, and Crawford in front of her, carrying the crown, sceptre, and sword of state. The most important Act passed by this Parliament was that which renounced foreign jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, and secured to the people liberty to worship God according to their conscience. This, the first act of universal toleration known in Europe, emanated from Queen Mary. Assuredly posterity has not sufficiently recognized this great contribution on her part to the liberty of the people. This Parliament lasted five days, and Mary went to Seton House on April 19th.

We are informed[1] that there was a Parliament held in Edinburgh on the 19th of April, which passed an Act setting forth that the queen, since her arrival in Scotland, had attempted nothing contrary to the state of religion which she found

[1] *Sir James Marwick.*

publicly and universally prevailing. There is evidently an error as regards the date. This Parliament must have been held on the 15th of April, not the 19th.

Moray is alleged to have made his will at this time, appointing the queen the guardian of his only child, a deed which was never revoked. This makes his conduct to the queen indefensible. The will, dated the 2nd of April, 1567, appoints "Dame Agnes Keith his wife, John Earl of Mar, John Wishart of Pitarro, William Douglas of Lochleven, and William Kirkaldy of Grange, executors, and Mary Queen of Scots' overswoman" (umpire) "of my testament, to see all things handled and ruled for the will of my dochter."[1] Is it likely he would have done this if he had thought the queen guilty of Darnley's murder? Between the date of the will and his assassination, in 1570, more children must have been born to Moray, for his widow, writing Elizabeth after that event, refers more than once to her orphan children. The Archbishop of Glasgow wrote the Spanish minister in Paris, that, notwithstanding Moray's professions of friendship for his sister, he was in reality her mortal enemy. The archbishop was right, as,

[1] Bannatyne Club Morton Papers.

from the date of her marriage with Darnley, she had nothing but persecution at the hands of Moray. Moray was a man whose sullen and obstinate and tyrannical disposition sustained a great shock by his removal from Mary's counsels, and, from the date of that event till his assassination, he pursued her with an insatiable feeling of revenge, that it may be safely said has probably no parallel in history. His great individuality compelled many to join his standard all over the country, but specially in Edinburgh, where many of the nobles and officers of the Crown evidently sympathized with him in his loss of the queen's confidence. How far this was due to Mary being a Catholic and they Protestants it is impossible to say, but probably the difference of religion was a strong factor in the case. That it should have been so is scandalous, for the queen, on her accession to the Crown, made it a stipulation that she was not to be interfered with in her private devotions. Moray accepted the stipulation, as did the other nobles, and we know how treacherously it was kept, and what persecution she suffered because of it.

Mary left Seton for Stirling on the 21st of April, to visit her son. She slept that night at Callender House, and next day arrived at Stirling Castle.

The following incident, as recorded by various historians, is ludicrous, but here it is: "The child was brought in, but he did not recognize her, and it is said would not look at her. She kissed and caressed him, and eventually brought an apple out of her pocket and gave to him; but he was in a fret, and would not take it, and she gave it to the nurse." This visit has been subjected to the same false criticism as some of her other actions. We are told that Mar, who was the guardian of the child, would not allow her to see him unless accompanied by two women only; that when she offered to kiss the child he put her away and scratched her; that she offered him an apple, which was refused, and thrown by her to a greyhound and whelps who were lying about; that the dogs ate the apple and all died. In all this there is not an atom of truth. The story is the invention of Drury, created by him for the gratification of Elizabeth and Cecil. It must be admitted that the invention shows his resource, for "whoever heard of a greyhound eating an apple"! In an age of bigotry and ignorance the false details of Drury, and, in fact, of all Elizabeth's ambassadors, were calculated to prejudice the multitude against the queen, and it was with this object no doubt that this story was

invented. That Mary spent a pleasant time with her child, there can be no manner of doubt. This, unfortunately, was the last time she saw her boy. The poor lady was as a lamb in the midst of wolves.

And now we arrive at that remarkable event in Queen Mary's life, the Bothwell marriage—an event that has been so surrounded with spurious documents and controversial matter, that much difficulty has been created in ascertaining the true position of parties. It is certainly one of the most extraordinary incidents in her life. When Parliament rose on the 19th of April, the nobles, the same evening, held their famous supper in Ainslie's tavern, in the Canongate of Edinburgh. The object of this supper was a bold and unscrupulous one. Excepting the faction that murdered Darnley, none of the others had any idea of it. Bothwell, it would appear, invited the guests, and presided, and doubtless was determined to make the nobles fulfil their promise to him some months before, viz. to compel the queen to marry him in return for his services to them as the chief of the Darnley conspirators. He rose and proposed his marriage with the queen, affirming that he had gained her consent, and producing, it is said, her written warrant

authorizing him to propose it to the nobility.[1] We should require better authority than Anderson before we could accept this statement. Were it true, it would be confirmed, but there is no confirmation of it, and we may therefore dismiss it as spurious. Darnley had been removed, and great indignation existed against the murderers, their object now being to get the queen married to Bothwell, so as to satisfy the people that the nobles were innocent, and thus remove the guilt to the shoulders of the queen and Bothwell. This was the scheme which they had formulated, and which they solemnly bound themselves to carry out. If Moray was to be raised to the regency, it was indispensable that they should wash their hands of the murder. At the supper in question, the bond had been drawn up beforehand, and was presented for signature. It proclaimed Bothwell's innocence, and their desire that he should marry the queen, and if so they would stand by him. The circumstances indicate that a large quantity of liquor had been consumed before the signatures were obtained; but Bothwell had an armed force in waiting outside, to prevent any one getting away without signing it. Nineteen

[1] *Anderson.*

signatures were obtained, Lord Eglinton being the only man who escaped.

Moray, it is recorded, stands first on the list, and as he was not at the supper, it has been suggested that he signed it before he left Edinburgh. Whether or not, it is without a doubt that of all this he was the prime mover. Froude denies that Morton signed it. What does Morton himself say at his confession before his execution? "After Bothwell was cleansed by an assize, sundry of the nobility and I subscribed also a bond with the Earl of Bothwell, that, if any should lay the king's murder to his charge, we should assist him in the contrary; and therefore I subscribed the queen's marriage with Bothwell." This bond has given rise to much controversy. It shows in an eminent degree the treachery and corruption of the nobles. Some days after, the members of the Privy Council, who in reality were the conspirators, waited on Mary, and told her that the state of the realm indicated that she should marry, and that there was no one more suitable for her than Bothwell. Mary was shocked, and gave an emphatic refusal. She indignantly told them that Bothwell had a wife already, and that he was accused of Darnley's murder. The Lords of the Con-

gregation thereafter sent a deputation to inform her that all she had to do was to act on the decision of the Privy Council. She refused to comply with this request. It is a curious fact that this proceeding of the Privy Council is not recorded in the official register. It is the statement of Nau, who is usually correct; but its not being recorded deprives it of much of its importance. Next day Kirkaldy of Grange, who did not sign the bond, wrote Bedford an extraordinary letter, in which he said that Mary had been "shamefully enamoured of Bothwell," and that "she would go to the world's end with him in a white petticoat, rather than leave him." This is another of the vile slanders Mary had to submit to. There is no evidence to show that she ever said anything of the kind, or had anything to do with Bothwell, outside his official position. Kirkaldy's letter was sent as a bribe, in order to get money out of Elizabeth. There was no nearer road to her purse than the slandering of Mary. These slanders were always welcome, and received by her enthusiastically. Her ministers and ambassadors knew well that Kirkaldy was urgently requiring money at this period, and this letter shows that he knew how to get it.

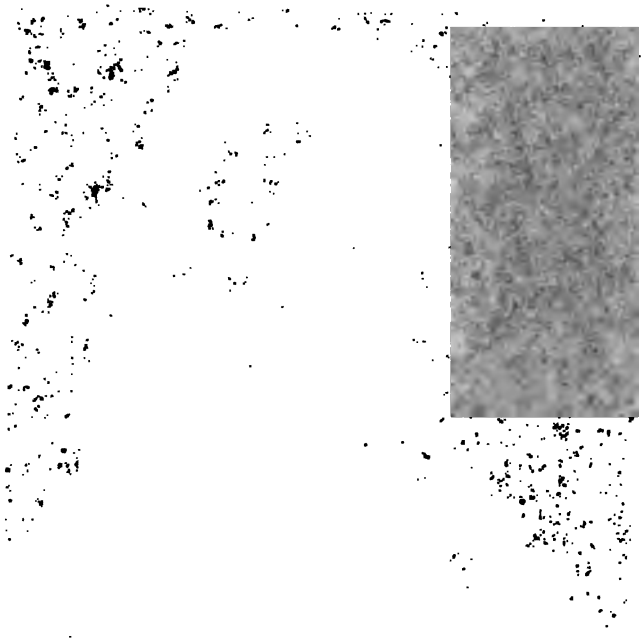
What is remarkable is that a historian like Tytler actually believed these statements, and goes on to condemn Mary accordingly. This has been unfortunate, on account of the prejudicial effects his opinion would have on posterity. One historian puts Kirkaldy's conduct in a nutshell: "It was an illustration of the bartering of his soul for English gold."[1] No one knew better than Kirkaldy that the statements were false, and inconsistent with the high-principled line of conduct Mary had always pursued. Even Elizabeth was disgusted with him, *e.g.* Randolph says :—

"Her majesty (Elizabeth) told me that she had seen a writing sent from Kirkaldy to Lord Bedford, despitefully written against the Queen of Scots, in such vile terms that she could not abide the hearing of it. She condemned him for one of the worst in the realm, seeming somewhat to warn me of my familiarity with him."

This was an unexpected speech from the English queen, considering her antagonism to Mary, and the only explanation is that it was not sincere, but spoken from mere diplomacy.

Burton falls into the trap of believing in

[1] *Strickland.*



Kirkaldy's letters to Bedford. And with reference to the Ainslie bond, he has the honesty to say, what must have been a bitter confession to him: "That there was shown to the assembled magnates a writing expressive of the queen's desire for the match, is a disputed question." Not only a disputed question, but, as regards the queen, the paper was an audacious fraud. He adds, "What is, however, a lamentable fact, the document was adopted by a meeting of the first men in the country;" but they were a treacherous crew, destitute alike of integrity and honesty, and the paper was signed when they were all more or less under the influence of liquor.

Excepting the Moray faction, it is extremely probable that not one of the others who signed the paper either read it or knew what was in it. A copy of the bond has been preserved in the Cotton MSS., and, being a curious paper, we reproduce it.

*Copy of the Bond signed at Ainslie's Supper, and given to the Earl Bothwell, wherein is concerned consent to the Queen's Marriage.*

We under subscribed, understanding that although the noble and mighty Lord James Earl Bothwell, Lord Hallis Creighton and Liddesdale, Great Admiral of Scotland, and Lieutenant to our Sovereign Lady over

all the marches thereof, being not only reported and calumniated by placards privily fixed in the public places of the Church of Edinburgh, and otherwise slandered by his evil willers and privy enemies as art and part of the heinous murder of the king, the queen's majesty's late husband, but also by special letters sent to her highness by the Earl of Lennox, accused of the same crime, who in his letters earnestly craved and desired the said Earl Bothwell to be tried of the said murder; he by condign inquest and assize of certain noblemen, his peers, and others barons of good reputation, is found innocent and guiltless of the said odious crime objected to him and acquitted thereof conform to the laws of this realm, who also for further trial of his part hath offered to be ready to defend and maintain his innocency against all who will impugn the same by the law of arms, and so hath omitted nothing for the perfect trial of his accusation that any nobleman in honour or by the laws ought to accomplish. And we considering the antiquity and nobleness of his house, the honourable and good service done by his predecessors and specially himself to our sovereign and for the defence of her highness's realm against the enemies thereof, and the amity and friendship which so long hath existed betwixt his house and every one of us and our predecessors in particular, And herewithal seeing how all noblemen being in reputation, honour and credit with their sovereign are commonly subject to sustain as well the base reports of the inconstant people as the accusation and calumnies of their adversaries, envious of their places and vocation, which we of duty and friendship are astrict and debtbound to reprove and withstand.

Therefore oblige us and each one of us, upon our honours, faith and truth in our bodies as we are noblemen and will answer to God that in case hereafter any manner of person or persons in whatsoever manner shall insist further to the slander and calumniation of the said Earl Bothwell as participant act and part of the said heinous murder whereof ordinary justice hath acquitted him, and for which he hath offered to do his devoir by the law of arms in manner above, wherefore we and every one of us by ourselves and kin, friends, servants, assisters, and partakers and all that will do for us shall take true place and upright part with him to the defence and maintenance of his quarrel with bodies, heritages and goods against his privy and public calumniators by past or to come, or any others presuming anything in word or deed to his reproach, dishonour or infamy. Moreover weighing and considering the time present and how the queen's majesty our sovereign is now destitute of a husband, in which solitary state the common weal of this our native country may not permit her highness always to continue and endure. But at sometime her highness in appearance may be inclined to yield to a marriage and therefore in case the former affectionate and faithful service of the said earl, done to her majesty from time to time, and his other good qualities and behaviour may move her majesty so far as to humble herself (as preferring one of her own born subjects unto all foreign princes) to take to husband the said earl, We and every one of us under subscribed upon our honours, truth and fidelity oblige us and permit not only to advance and set forward the said marriage to be solemnized complete betwixt her highness

and the said noble lord, with our writs, counsel, fortification and assistance in word and deed at such time as it shall please her majesty to think it convenient and how soon the laws shall leave it to be done. But in case any would presume directly or indirectly, openly or under whatsoever colour of pretence to hinder hold back or disturb the said marriage, we shall in that behalf esteem hold and repute the hinderers, disturbers and adversaries thereof as common enemies and evil willers and notwithstanding the same take part, and fortify the said earl to the said marriage so far as it may please our sovereign lady to allow and therein shall spend and bestow our lives and goods against all that live or die may As we shall answer to God and upon our honour and fidelity and in case we do in the contrary never to have reputation, honesty nor credit in no time hereafter, but be accounted unworthy and faithless traitors. In witness of which we have subscribed these presents with our hands as followeth. At Edinburgh the 19th day of April, the year of God 1567 years.

To this the queen gave her consent the night before the marriage, which was the 14th day of May the year of God aforesaid in this form.

(Here follow signatures.)

It is noticeable that Mar, of all her friends, was selected to be the guardian of the prince. No doubt she regarded him as the least objectionable among her so-called nobles. Mar, to his disgrace, betrayed his trust, and, whether or not he had anything to do with Drury's invention about the

poisoned apple, or with administering poison to Mary before she started for Edinburgh on the 23rd of April, it is certain that with Moray he entered into a secret treaty with Elizabeth for the murder of Queen Mary.[1] On the 23rd of April, with a small retinue of twelve attendants, Mary set out for Edinburgh. She took ill on the road a few miles from Stirling, and was obliged to rest for some hours in a small wayside house. She was able to proceed as far as Linlithgow, where she remained for the night. Why so young and healthy a woman as Mary took so suddenly ill is a mystery, but it has been supposed that poison was administered in her food at Stirling Castle.

On the following day she resumed her journey. She was an expert horsewoman, and went over the ground very expeditiously. In short, it took her ladies and attendants all their time to keep up with her. This was an unfortunate day in poor Mary's career. It was known in confidential circles that she was to be seized by Bothwell, with consent of the nobles. She knew nothing about it, and this point has given rise to a great deal of controversy; her accusers trying to make out that she had made

[1] *Strickland.*

a tryst with Bothwell, and that he was to make a merely formal capture of her, and carry her to Dunbar.

She had got the length of Fountainbridge, or the West Port in the suburbs of Edinburgh, when Bothwell with an armed force appeared. It is evident that he had no intention of performing his official duty, and it is believed had the queen been ten minutes earlier she would have escaped him altogether, for at this point she would be within two miles of Holyrood. Bothwell rode up to her, seized the bridle of her horse, and led her off as his prisoner. For this crime he and sixty-four of his accomplices paid the penalty of forfeiture, in virtue of an Act of Parliament passed in the first year of the reign of James VI., or sixteen months after the event. This act is a proof of the forcible seizure of the queen, and, after referring to it, adds :—

"She suspecting no evil from any of her subjects, and least of all from Bothwell, to whom she had shown much liberality, he by force and violence seized her most noble person, put violent hands upon her, carried her away to the castle of Dunbar against her will, and there detained her as his prisoner for twelve days."

The outrage created profound sensation in Edinburgh. The bells were rung, and Mary's

supporters among the citizens flew to arms. The provost and his supporters, who were unfriendly to Mary, were on the alert, shut the gates and pointed at them the guns of the castle. None of her ladies were allowed to accompany her to Dunbar, and Bothwell ordered his sister, the widow of Lord John of Coldingham, to be her personal attendant. Mary spoke in the most indignant and contemptuous terms to Bothwell, when she saw she was a prisoner, and threatened vengeance when she got her liberty. The Ainslie bond he displayed before her face. It astonished her, as well it might. Maitland, to his disgrace, supported Bothwell on this occasion. Everything was done by the conspirators to make the public believe that Mary was a voluntary guest at Dunbar. Then, as a continuation of the farce, Bothwell and Maitland convened a Privy Council meeting there, to enable them to announce that the queen was a guest, and exercising all the functions of royalty. And so Bothwell was left in undisputed possession of his prey. The resolution of the rebels to seize the queen must have been kept very quiet, otherwise her supporters would have taken steps to prevent it. It does seem strange that the historians Robertson and Laing express surprise that Mary and her

retinue made no resistance. The queen's retinue consisted of twelve persons: Bothwell was accompanied by eight hundred, and of what avail could resistance be? Sheriff Glassford Bell says—

"Nothing, indeed, can be more contrary to reason than to suppose this abduction a mere device mutually arranged to deceive the country. Was her conscience so hardened, her feelings so abandoned, and her reason so perverted as to enable her to anticipate gratification from a marriage thus hastily concluded, with so little queenly dignity or female modesty, and with a man who was not yet divorced from his own wife? There is but one answer which can be given to these questions."

But Sir James Melville's letter to the English ambassador is more emphatic:—

"The queen was led captive, and by fear, force, and other extraordinary and more unlawful means, compelled to become the bedfellow to another wife's husband."

After this brutal event the nobles requested Bothwell to obtain from the queen her signature to a paper, relieving them from any responsibility for signing the bond at Ainslie's tavern.

The paper was in the following terms:—

"The queen's majesty having seen and considered the bond above written promised in the name of a

prince that she or her successors shall never impute as crime or offence to any of the persons subscribers thereof their subscription or consent given to the matter contained therein. Nor that they nor their heirs shall ever be called or accused therefor. Nor yet shall the said consent or subscribing be any derogation or spot to their honour, or they esteemed undutiful subjects for doing thereof, notwithstanding whatsoever thing may tend or be alleged to the contrary. In witness whereof her majesty hath subscribed the same with her own hand."

This so-called "consent" of the queen is a pure fiction. The composition is so one-sided that it will not mislead any one. And it must be remembered that Bothwell, at this date, had a wife of his own. To say that the queen either consented to or signed this bond, or that she would marry a man who already had a wife, is too absurd for serious consideration, but, so long as she was in the power of Bothwell, he compelled her to sign such papers as he put before her.

What was doing at Dunbar Castle during this short but miserable period in the queen's life, we do not know, but evidently Maitland was living there as well as the queen and Bothwell. That they attempted to carry on the business of the State cannot be denied, as we have the record of a Privy Council meeting

held there. It would appear from the Register of the Great Seal that several charters were at this period signed at Dunbar by the queen. Considering the circumstances in which she was placed, it is of importance to know what these charters were, and the dates on which they were executed. The first is dated Dunbar, April 26th, two days after her capture, and is a charter confirming one by the Abbot of Lindores in favour of David Barclay of Cullearny and his heirs, bestowing on them lands in Fife and Strathearn, on condition that they pay yearly £100 and serve the monastery with victual, men, and horses, same as his forefathers. The other charters are—

Dunbar, April 27th. Charter confirming one by Donald, Abbot of Cupar, in favour of Alexander Jackson and his heirs, granting to them the lands of Waterybutts and adjacent places in Carse Grange, in consideration of £500 and a yearly payment of £23 18*s.* 9*d.*, with certain additions in money and victual in respect of their being servants of the monastery.

Dunbar, April 27th. Charter confirming another by Donald, Abbot of Cupar, in favour of John Jackson and his heirs, granting the lands of Muirhouses near Perth, on condition of a

yearly payment of £9 14*s.* 4*d.*, with certain victual as feudal servants of the monastery.

Dunbar, April 27th. Charter confirming one by Brother Andrew Leche, prior, and Brother John Law, superior, of the order of Preaching Friars of the University of Glasgow, in favour of John Graham and his heirs, giving them the large tenement occupied by them. This was given because of Graham's services to the brethren at a time of danger. The condition attached was that if the friars should be restored they should have access to the gardens, the tenement itself remaining in possession of the said John Graham, for a consideration of 3 marks yearly.

Dunbar, April 27th. Charter confirming one by Donald, Abbot of Cupar, in which for a sum of money paid down, there was granted in fief to Andrew Powrie and his heirs, four acres of land in Carse Grange, on condition of £40 according to an old agreement, and £6 8*s.* in addition, with certain victual, etc.

Dunbar, April 28th. Charter confirming and giving anew to John Lord Glamis the lands and barony of Baky; the lands of Drumglas and Cardeau; the barony of Forgandenny, with fishing, etc., to be held by the said John Lord Glamis and his heirs.

Dunbar, April 28th. Charter confirming and giving anew to John Lord Glamis, the lands of Glamis and Tannadice, Belhelvie, Longforgan, and Inchture, to be used by him and his heirs on condition of certain annual payments for each barony.

Dunbar, April 30th. Charter to David and Alexander Murray and their heirs of certain lands in Mickle and Little Broughton, because their father, John Murray of Broughton, was a man given to pleasure, and alienated and ruined part of his lands, and also gave them into the hands of persons who declined to give them back.

Dunbar, May 1st. Charter confirming one by John Mowbray of Barnbougle, in which, for a sum of money paid down, he handed over to George Dundas and his heirs the lands of East Craigy, etc., in return for certain payments, with the condition that whenever George or his heirs shall pay in one day, between sunrise and sunset under the parish church of Dalmeny, a sum of 1800 marks, or deposit it in the hands of the Treasurer or Dean of Guild of Edinburgh, they shall re-enter into the possession of the said lands.

Edinburgh, June 13th. The queen having power of granting confirmation in name of her

son James, Prince of Scotland with consent of James Earl of Bothwell, Duke of Orkney, confirms a charter of Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick, in which he grants to his eldest son Alexander and his heirs the lands and lordship of Innerwick, reserving the freehold of the said Alexander senior and his wife.

These documents show, then, that Mary had opportunity for transacting some business of State while at Dunbar, although otherwise we get no glimpse of how the time was spent. We know, however, that Bothwell's wife, Lady Jane Gordon, at once applied for a divorce. The indictment of date April 26th states that her marriage was solemnized in February, 1565, and that the parties dwelt together for several months.

"That Bothwell committed adultery with Bessie Crawford, servant to the said noble lady, in May and June, 1566, divers times within the abbey of Haddington. That therefore the said Lady Jane requires to be no longer repute the bone of his bone nor flesh of his flesh, but that she be decerned to be free to marry to the Lord when and where she pleases. Dated, Edinburgh, 26th April, 1567."

It would appear that there are letters of dispensation by John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, in favour of Bothwell and Lady Jane

Gordon being within the forbidden degree of consanguinity, March 13, 1565.[1] This document proves that a dispensation was procured before marriage; and, as Lady Jane Gordon did not found on it in the consistorial proceedings which ended in divorce, it would seem to have been in her custody throughout, and to have been carried by her to Dunrobin when she was married to the Earl of Sutherland in 1573.

Lady Jane was only twenty years of age.

The Court of Session, on the 3rd of May, granted divorce. There is only one construction of this matter possible, of which Mary's melancholy condition after marriage is a clear indication.

Meanwhile, Bothwell was determined to carry through his marriage with his sovereign with the least possible delay. On their arrival in Edinburgh, he sent the banns of marriage to be proclaimed in St. Giles, but public feeling was dead against him, and John Craig, the minister, Knox's colleague, would not allow the proclamation without the queen's warrant. Sir James Bellenden, the justice clerk, another of the traitors, brought a paper with the queen's signature, which stated that she was not in captivity, and desired him to proceed with the proclamation.

[1] Historical MSS. Commission.

This signature of the queen was a forgery. Craig then made the proclamation, protesting at the same time that the marriage was unsuitable for both sovereign and people. Bothwell remonstrated with Craig, but to no purpose; and on the following Sunday Craig denounced the marriage from the pulpit, as being not only improper but illegal. He said—

"I take heaven and earth to witness that I abhor and detest this marriage as odious and slanderous to the world, and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled by God to the comfort of this unhappy realm."

Next day Mary was taken by Bothwell to the Tolbooth, where the Court of Session was sitting, and was compelled to go through the farce of saying that she was not under personal restraint, and that she forgave him for what he had done in consideration of the services he had rendered her. His next move was to invite Du Croc, the French ambassador, to the wedding, but he indignantly refused.[1]

Regarding the marriage itself, at four

[1] There is an Act of the Lords of the Secret Council, of the 12th of June, declaring Bothwell to be the principal author of Darnley's murder, and charging him with ravishing the queen's majesty (State Paper Office).

o'clock on the morning of the 15th of May, Mary went through the ceremony with him. He compelled her to do so, with the alternative of permanent captivity or murder. That this could be possible shows the lawless condition of the time. Mary was dressed in deep mourning, as a protest against the infamy of the affair. Very few persons were present, and the ceremony was in the Protestant form, the Bishop of Orkney officiating. Had it been with her consent, she would not have recognized any form but the Catholic. There was no pageantry, no rejoicings—nothing, in fact. Her friends and the loyal subjects of Edinburgh, when they heard of it, regarded it with deep vexation. Much controversy has centred round this cruel event in Mary's life. Those who accuse her of willingly marrying Bothwell give no reliable facts to warrant their belief. They condemn her on the authority of the false and treasonable letters of Kirkaldy, Drury, Randolph, Buchanan and others. There is no proof to verify the statements of these men, and it is a fact that her conduct is quite inconsistent with any desire that she should ever be Bothwell's wife. The nobles who were responsible for this event were indefatigable in spreading reports that the queen

was not in captivity at all, but that by her own free will she married Bothwell. The effect of this was that no movement was got up to rescue her. Du Croc called for her next day, and in Bothwell's presence she said, "he must not be surprised if he saw her sorrowful, for she could not rejoice, nor ever should again. All she desired was death." She instructed her ambassador to write to the pope :—

"Tell him the grief we suffered when we were made prisoner by Bothwell, and led as prisoner with Huntly the chancellor, and the nobleman our secretary, to the Castle of Dunbar, afterwards to Edinburgh Castle, where we were detained against our will until such time as Bothwell had procured a pretended divorce between him and Huntly's sister, his wife and our near relative ; and we were constrained to yield our consent, yet against our will, to him. Therefore your holiness is supplicated to take order on this, that we are made quit of the said indignity by means of a process at Rome, and commissions sent to Scotland to the bishops and other Catholic judges as to your holiness seemeth best."

Burton, who has evidently accepted as truth the slanders of Buchanan and Drury, goes on to tell us what never happened, *e.g.*, after the brutal and compulsory marriage, "she virtually did her best to raise him to a joint occupancy of the

throne, by stipulating that the signature of both should be necessary to all State documents passing under the sign manual." Burton gives no authority for this, and we can find none. Had any such evidence existed it would have been preserved in the State Paper Office or have been incorporated in Mary's history by one or other of her biographers.

Tytler tells us that Mary precipitated this marriage, and that public rumour accused her of being a party to the murder. Lord Herries, he says, on his knees implored her not to marry Bothwell, and Du Croc urged the same request; and then he adds, "Was any mother who acted such a part worthy to be entrusted with the keeping and education of the heir to the throne?" On what authority does Tytler say so? He quotes Drury to Cecil, an authority that has been proved to be false. It is to be regretted that he has lent the weight of his reputation to these false charges, and that he did not discover that Drury wrote letters about Mary that were destitute of truth merely to please Elizabeth. It is beyond doubt that neither Herries nor Du Croc ever preferred such a request to the queen, and when Tytler quotes other authorities, their view of Mary is the very opposite of Drury's. Bothwell and Maitland were

friends at this period, but they quarrelled shortly after the marriage. Mary's compulsory execution of the paper to which we have already referred would doubtless account for much of the feeling against her.

There is preserved in the Cotton MSS. what professes to be a "Promise of Marriage," Mary to Bothwell; but it has neither place nor date, and has the appearance of being a spurious document. The French in which it is written is defective, and the composition conspicuously absurd. Assuming that she married Bothwell on the 15th of May, three months after Darnley's death, is it probable that in the interval she would write such a promise voluntarily, so close on that atrocious event? And as Bothwell was a married man, whose wife, a young lady of twenty, was a personal friend of hers, was she likely to write such a promise at all? To these questions there can be but one answer. The persistent manufacture of spurious documents in Mary's reign, of which this promise of marriage is one, and the depositing or these in public collections for preservation in order to mislead posterity, is a strong proof that the queen had absolutely nothing to do with the Darnley murder nor with the negotiations that led to the Bothwell marriage. It was a skilful

and ably organized conspiracy, as is testified by the abundance of papers which we possess. The following is the document referred to :—

Nous Marie par la grace de dieu Royne d'Ecosse, dowagere de France, etc., prometons fidelement et de bonne foy de faire contraunte à Jaques Hepburn Comte de Bothwell, de n'avoir jamays autre espouse et mary que Lui et de le prandre pour tel toute et quante fois qu'il moy requerira quoy que parents amys ou auttres y soient contrevaryés, et puis que Dieu a pris mon feu-mary Henri Stuart dit Darnley et que par ce moien je suis libre n'estant sous obeissance du pére ni de mére dès mayntenant je protestegne Lui estant en mesme liberte je seray prest et d'acomplis les ceremonies requises au mariage que je lui promets devant Dieu quil j'enprands à tesmoignasge et lapresante signée de ma mayn ecrit(i)ce (?).

MARIE R.

Translation : We, Mary, by the grace of God, queen of Scotland, dowager of France, etc., promise faithfully and solemnly to make an agreement with James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, never to have any other spouse and husband save him, and to take him for such at whatever time he shall wish me, although relations, friends and others may be opposed to it, and since God has taken away my late husband Henry Stuart, called Darnley, and that by this means I am free, not being bound in obedience to father or mother from this time I protest unto him, being in the same liberty, I shall be ready to go through with the ceremonies necessary to marriage, which I promise him before God whom I take

to witness, and the present (document ?) signed by my own hand, written here.

MARIE R.

There is in the Harleian MSS. what professes to be an official document, but in reality is a fraudulent paper, giving a record of the marriage as having taken place at Seton on the 5th of April. The paper was alleged to be among the Casket Letters, and has afforded material to Mary's accusers for arousing much controversy. They have made persistent efforts to prove that it is genuine, but all in vain, for no one who studies Mary's life minutely could be misled by it. As Mary was not at Seton on the 5th of April, but at Holyrood, the transparency of the fraud requires no comment. It is stated in the official report of the York and Westminster Conference that Huntly wrote this document, but the statement has not been confirmed, and is in all probability false. It is as follows :—

*A Copy of the Contract for Marriage made between the Queen and Earl Bothwell.*

At Seyton, the 5th day of April, the year of God 1567. The right excellent, right high and mighty Princess Mary, by the grace of God Queen of Scots, considering the place and estate wherein Almighty God has constitute her highness, and how by the decease of

the king her husband, her majesty is now destitute of an husband, living solitary in the state of widowhood, in which kind of life her majesty most willingly would continue, if the weal of her realm and subjects would permit it. But on the other part, considering the inconveniences may follow and the necessity which the realm has that her majesty be coupled with a husband, her highness has inclined to marry. And seeing what incommodity may come to this realm in case her majesty should join in marriage with any foreign prince of a strange nation, her highness has thought rather better to yield unto one of her own subjects. Among whom, her majesty finds none more able nor endued with better qualities than the right noble and her dear cousin James Earl Bothwell, etc. Of whose thankful and true service her highness in all times by past has had large praise and infallible experience. And seeing not only the same good mind constantly persevering in him, but with that an inward affection and hearty love towards her majesty, her highness among the rest has made her choice of him. And therefore in the presence of the eternal God faithfully, and in the word of a prince by these present takes the Lord James Earl Bothwell as her lawful husband. And promissis and oblissis her highness that how soon the process of divorce intended betwixt the said Earl Bothwell and Dame Jane Gordon, now his pretended spouse, has ended by the order of the laws, her majesty shall God willing thereafter shortly marry and take the said earl to her husband, and complete the bond of matrimony with him in face of Holy Kirk. And shall never marry any other husband but he only during

his lifetime. And as her majesty of her gracious humanity and proper motive without deserving of the said earl has thus inclined her favour and affection towards him, he humbly and reverently acknowledging the same according to his bound duty and being as free and able to make promises of marriage in respect of the said process of divorce intended for divers reasonable causes, and that his said pretended spouse has thereunto consented, he presently takes her majesty as his lawful spouse in the presence of God. And promissis and oblisses him as he will answer to God, and upon his fidelity and honour, that in all diligence possible he shall prosecute and set forward the said process of divorce already begun and intended betwixt him and the said Dame Jane Gordon, his pretended spouse, unto the final end of a decreat and declaration therein. And incontinent thereafter at her majesty's good will and pleasure, and when her highness thinks convenient, shall complete and solemnizate in face of Holy Kirk the said bond of matrimony, and love, honour and serve her highness according to the place and honour that it has pleased her majesty to accept him unto. And never to have any other to his wife during her majesty's lifetime.

In faith and witnessing thereof her highness and the said earl have subscribed this present faithful promise with their hands as follows day, year and place foresaid, before these witnesses, George of Huntly, and Mr. Thomas Hepburn parson of Auldhamstocks.

MARY R.

JAMES EARL BOTHWELL.[1]

[1] This contract was made April 5th, within eight weeks after

It will be observed that neither of these documents bears the signatures of the nobles, a circumstance which condemns them. It would further indicate that there were two sets of forgers manufacturing "promises of marriage," the one having no knowledge of the other, otherwise how are the two papers to be reconciled? They are irreconcileable. So far from Mary being a party to these "promises," there is no evidence that she knew anything about them. The composition of the forgers and the false statements in both papers are apparent. The queen finds no one—

"more able and endued with better qualities than the right noble and her dear cousin James Earl Bothwell. His inward affection and hearty love towards her majesty" has caused her "to make choice of him."

The very reverse of this is the truth. Bothwell was a man of such abandoned habits that the queen despised him; and she banished him out of the country when occasion required. She knew he was the champion of the Darnley conspirators, and we should say the very last man

the murder of the king, who was removed February 10th. Also it was made seven days before Bothwell was acquitted by judgment (such as it was) from the said murder, and before any sentence of divorce or suit began, for it was not till April the 26th, as appears by the recorder, etc.

in the kingdom she would think of marrying. The half of the second document is taken up with the "divorce," which condemns the paper as not being genuine. These two papers indicate the determination of the conspirators to force the queen into a position that would arouse suspicion, while she was helpless to extricate herself, being thrown into it by absolute force.

Du Croc, writing to Catherine de Medici, under date May 16th, says—

"If I have spoken in a very high tone it is that all this realm may be aware that I will neither mix myself up with these nuptials, nor will I recognize Bothwell as husband of the queen."

This is another proof of the public sympathy in favour of the queen.

About a month after this marriage, those who assisted Bothwell in the murder and signed the bond in Ainslie's tavern, were loud in their execration of both deeds. This shows the duplicity of Mary's ministers, and the dishonesty of those by whom she was surrounded. Her secretary, Nau, said—

"This poor young princess, inexperienced in such devices, was circumvented on all sides by persuasive requests and importunities, by memorials signed and presented to her in full council and by private letters."

When Mary was at Sheffield she instructed the Bishop of Ross to make certain representations to the pope about her own matters, which included the following :—

"Take good heed that the Holy Father shall publicly announce that the pretended marriage, contracted between me and Bothwell without any legality, but by a pretended procedure, is of no force. For although, there are many reasons which, as you know, make it clearly invalid in itself, yet the matter will be much clearer if his holiness, acting as the most certain lawyer of the Church, will come forward to annul it. And in order that nothing may appear to be wanting in this matter, I ask you, my father, to act for me in every proceeding which is required for the valid prosecution of the entire cause in the court, and through the whole process, as well in its introduction as its prosecution. Let the entire proceeding be conducted as secretly as possible, for if it gets abroad it may occasion me much trouble and annoyance."[1]

The testimony of Nau is of great importance, and we think this extract is conclusive on the question of the marriage being voluntary or compulsory.

A letter, dated Rome, July 2, 1567, states that Pius V. does not want in any way to have further communication with Mary, unless he sees some other better token of her life and religion than he

[1] *Nau.*

has seen hitherto. These are not the pope's words, but an extract from the despatch of the cardinal secretary to Laureo, bishop of Mondovi, and the writer[1] who cites it adds: "There is nothing to show that he ever altered his opinion as to her conduct in the Bothwell marriage." Coming from so eminent a writer, this statement is at first sight startling. Let us look at it for a moment. There is no autograph letter from the pope condemning the queen. It was not his custom to employ a secretary when he wrote Mary. He wrote and signed all such letters himself. This letter cannot therefore be accepted as expressing the Pope's sentiments. And again, if the statement were true, what is to be said of the pope's own letter to Mary of January 9, 1570, of which the following is an extract—

"We, on our part, stand ready to help in such matters as we can, and in the way we have done previously. We will take good care that both kings will be approached in our name as you request. We will urgently commend to them your safety, and the integrity of your realm. We are ever prepared to show all the manifestations of paternal affection which are deserved by that strong unconquered heart of yours, and your burning zeal for the Catholic faith. We shall pray Almighty God in the humility of our heart to assist you in your struggle

[1] *Pollen.*

with misfortune, and mercifully to grant you strength aad perseverance in adversity."

The pope was not likely to write such a letter if the words of the cardinal secretary were true; nor, as just stated, is there any autograph letter from his holiness indicating blame on Mary's part respecting Bothwell. The Vatican archives have been searched, public and private collections have been inspected for papers incriminating her in this matter, but not a vestige of evidence has been found. The letter of the cardinal secretary must therefore be put aside as being totally unsupported by proof. If the letter is not a forgery, it can only be regarded as the expression of opinion of the writer, and without the pope's knowledge or consent. But even if the pope approved the cardinal secretary's letter, he evidently had changed his mind when he wrote the letter just quoted. Amongst the correspondence of this period we find the following communication from the Catholic bishop of Mondovi (Spain).

"Mondovi, July 1st.

"Father Edmondo now informs me that the queen could not in the end resist the excessive affection she bears to Bothwell. By the last act of hers, contrary to the honour of God and her own royal dignity, she has made it inopportune to send her an envoy of any sort."

This is alleged to be an extract of a letter of Father Edmund Hay, to the Bishop of London, but it is accompanied with the significant intimation that the original letter is lost. Why is it lost? The question therefore arises: Is the extract *bonâ fide?* This point cannot be determined, and in the mean time the answer to the question must be a direct negative. It is recorded of Hay that he was counsel for Bothwell in the divorce suit against Lady Jane Gordon.[1] He is therefore no authority, and his charge is not supported either by the queen's attitude or by subsequent events. A writer of some note on this subject[2] gives an account of the nuncio's doings in Scotland which is faulty, because he knows of no other account of them except Randolph's,[3] while Froude's chapter on the Jesuits in Scotland contains scarcely a paragraph free from some mistake.[4] The writer referred to[5] attaches great importance to an alleged letter of Mary to the pope, November 30, 1568. That letter was not written to the pope, but to the King of Spain, and according to him, it "asks his pardon for having joined in Protestant prayers, and offering to make satisfaction for the scandal she may have

[1] *Goodall.* [2] *Philippson.* [3] *Pollen.*
[4] *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1898. [5] *Pollen.*

given." What scandal? Let us refer to the letter itself. She was at this period a prisoner in Bolton Castle :—

"If I do not exercise my religion it must not be considered that I waver between the two. Since my arrival in this kingdom I begged to be at least allowed to exercise it in the same manner as the ambassador of a foreign prince is permitted to do; but it was told that I was a kinswoman of the queen's, and should never obtain that indulgence. An English minister was afterwards sent to me. He merely recites some prayers in the vulgar tongue, which I had not the power to prevent, because I was, as I still am, deprived of my liberty and closely guarded. But if it be supposed I have done wrong by being present at these prayers, which I attended because I was not allowed any other exercise of my religion, I am ready to make any amend which may be considered necessary, that all the Catholic princes in the world may be convinced that I am an obedient, submissive, and devoted daughter of the Holy Catholic Church, in the faith of which I will live and die."

This conveys a different meaning from the extract copied by the writer from the *Month*, and it appears to us an ungenerous act to reproduce an extract which is not only misleading, but does not convey the clear and unequivocal interpretation of Queen Mary's words. This is another instance of an attempt to indict the queen on evidence that cannot be sustained.

Father Pollen informs us[1] that Mary became irresolute when Maitland, at Craigmillar, importuned her to marry Bothwell; but on what authority is this stated? We cannot accept an anonymous statement on so vital a point. It is incorrect to say that Mary gave her final consent to the marriage. This should read "compulsory" consent. The writer gives four reasons for justifying the marriage, which are quite inconclusive and without authority. The same writer, quoting from the Forbes Leith narratives, gives an extract from the correspondence of the Bishop of Ross about the Bothwell marriage, in which Mary is represented as having said to the bishop that "never again would she do anything opposed to the rites of the Catholic church," and the bishop expresses his surprise "that she would have been induced to take such a step." There is nothing in the extract indicating that the marriage was voluntary. In substance it simply amounts to this: "I have been compelled in this matter, but I will never be compelled again." The extract therefore proves nothing. In the discussion of this matter the only thing that is convincing is the queen's own words. We get these in her letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, requesting

him to put the whole question before the pope. She there states it was against her will and was an act of compulsion. Her accusers cannot get over that. As already stated, this writer informs us that Pius V. never altered his opinion as to her conduct in the Bothwell marriage; but so far as can be discovered there is no letter of the pope confirming this. The pope's letter of January 9, 1570, is a direct negative to it. Such a statement should be accompanied by *bonâ fide* authority, not by letters of subordinate officers, which are not conclusive on such a grave matter.

The elder Tytler, one of the greatest students of this subject, is of opinion that this marriage never has been clearly made out; but, as Maitland was one of those who asked Mary to divorce Darnley and afterwards assented to her marriage with Bothwell, there seems no doubt that he was a conspirator and one of the foremost in this conspiracy against the queen. He wrote to the Laird of Carmichael that Morton "knows in his conscience I was as innocent as himself." Morton saw this letter, and responded, "That I know him innocent in my conscience as myself, the contrary thereof is true, for I was and am innocent thereof, but could not affirm the same of him,

considering what I understood of that matter of his own confession to myself."

Nothing has come to light that can dissociate Maitland from this plot or from the junto that planned and carried it out, *e.g.* Moray, Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, Bothwell, and Archibald Douglas. If he never disguised his dislike of the Bothwell marriage, we have no proof of that. What is to be said of his accompanying Bothwell to Dunbar when the queen was seized and carried off?

An elaborate review of this matter has been given by a recent writer.[1] His argument is that a papal dispensation authorizing Bothwell's marriage with Lady Jane Gordon, and discovered by Dr. Stuart at Dunrobin Castle, was either concealed from the queen or it was a forgery. "Had the queen known of it she would not have married Bothwell." With all deference to this writer, we do not think the dispensation, forged or genuine, is any element in the question at all. Bothwell boasted that he would marry the queen "whether she would or not." What would a lawless and dissolute man care about a "dispensation"? And the whole argument breaks down if Mary never consented to the marriage. Is the letter to the

[1] *Lindsay.*

Archbishop of Glasgow not a standing memorial of the whole proceeding being an outrage?

The same writer informs us that Mary did not deny that she signed the Bothwell marriage contract on the 6th of April, which was declared to be in the handwriting of Huntly. On what authority is this assertion made? Mary, so far as can be discovered, signed no such contract; but a fabricated one so dated was said to be among the contents of the casket. On the 15th of May, when she went through the ceremony by compulsion, she signed the contract of that date without knowing what was in it. The apology of the writer for Elizabeth is unjustifiable. Elizabeth had no jurisdiction over Mary's innocence or guilt. She had no right to detain Mary, nor had she any right to have conferences for Mary's trial, or to enter into Mary's troubles with her subjects and constitute herself judge. Her conduct to Mary all through was infamous and illegal. A fair consideration of the history as a whole exonerates Mary Stuart of the guilt with which her memory has been loaded. The one thing which saved her life till the end of nineteen years of captivity was Elizabeth's dread that the world would fix on her the responsibility of her death.[1]

[1] *McNeel Caird.*

On the same day, she under compulsion granted a pardon to Bothwell, "contrary to her majesty's will and mind." That remarkable paper, evidently written by Bothwell, was in the following terms:—

"That albeit her highness was satisfied for the present time of her taking of the said Earl Bothwell; yet for his good behaviour and thoughtful service in time past, and for more thoughtful service in time coming, her highness stands content with the said earl, and has forgiven and forgives him and all others his accomplices all hatred conceived by her majesty for the taking and imprisoning of her at the time aforesaid."

That was the precious bond which the unfortunate queen, struggling in the clutches of her husband's murderer, was compelled to put her signature to. Such was the man who by fraud and villainy had made himself for the time so absolute in Scotland that Mary's possession of the throne, nay her very life, seem to have depended on his will and pleasure.[1] In the opinion of the ruffians who were parties to this transaction, the execution of this paper would be essential for the safeguarding of public morals, and for their own protection against public opinion. That this fictitious paper would be misleading and highly

[1] *Glassford Bell.*

injurious to the queen's reputation there is no manner of doubt. And it unquestionably created a blot on her character, for ever since the occurrence of the deed there have been those simple enough to believe in the *veritas* of this fraudulent document.

Let us look for a moment at the parliamentary recital of Bothwell's conduct :—

"After detaining Queen Mary's most noble person by force and violence twelve days at Dunbar, Bothwell compelled her by fear, under circumstances such as might befall the most courageous woman in the world, to promise that, as soon as possible, she would contract marriage with him."

And the Act of Parliament for his forfeiture said—

"And in his nefarious and treasonable crimes and purposes he kept and detained the queen in firm custody by force and masterful hand of his armed friends and dependants. On the 6th of May he carried her to the castle of Edinburgh, which was then in his power, and there imprisoned her, and compelled her to remain until the 11th of the said month, on which day, still accompanied by a great number of armed men that he might colour his treasonable and nefarious crimes and purposes, he carried her to Holyrood, and within four days compelled her to contract marriage with him."

How any one can speak of the Bothwell marriage as voluntary, after this, is a mystery.

That Mary's enemies seized and made use of some of her letters to Darnley, and by skilful interpolation exhibited them[1] as having been addressed to Bothwell is conceivable, but we think improbable. Nor do we think it can be disputed that a large portion of the history of Scotland during this reign is founded on documents composed by enemies of the queen, and should therefore be studied with reserve. Another proof that the queen despised Bothwell is that she passed him over as sheriff of the county when she went to Stirling, on the 23rd of April, to see her son, and was escorted by other nobles there and back. The false story of the matter being understood by Mary beforehand, was told to Melville, a captain in Bothwell's corps, who mentioned it to Sir William Drury who in his turn informed Cecil. In 1570 the pope pronounced, at her request, this marriage to be null and void. There is no evidence to be found that either directly or indirectly proves that the queen was otherwise than good, pure, and virtuous in every phase of her short but eventful reign. It is false to say

[1] Casket Letters.

with them in order to deliver the queen "furth of thraldom" and purge the realm of the abominable murder of the king. This whole realm, it is added, is slanderous and offensive to all nations. This was a proclamation by the murderers to throw the lieges off their guard, and direct suspicion to the queen.

Mary was not responsible for her actions from the 24th of April, when she was seized, till the 15th of June, when she separated from Bothwell. During these seven weeks she was a prisoner, and had to do whatever he directed her. The Bothwell marriage lasted four weeks, but the events occurring during that period have not been recorded except in a very fragmentary shape. Evidently the marriage was so distasteful to the people that an insurrection was the result. This was instigated by the nobles who did not sign the bond, was supported by the Catholics, and was of a determined nature, as the people were out of sympathy with the condition of affairs. Moray, who was a supporter of this movement, was reported to be in England, undermining Mary's authority. The most extraordinary thing is that the nobles who signed the bond, and who were responsible for the marriage, now denounced it, and joined the rebels. Their purpose, in all

probability, was served as soon as the marriage was celebrated. Maitland would appear to have been acting as a spy to Elizabeth, and, on Bothwell discovering this, they quarrelled, and Maitland had a narrow escape for his life. The head-quarters of the rebels were at Stirling; and Bothwell, who was anxious for a reconciliation, sent Lord Boyd to effect that object, but it was in vain. They refused to recognize Bothwell as the queen's husband, and were determined to seize and imprison him. They got Sir James Balfour, governor of Edinburgh Castle, to join them, which was a great achievement as it gave them the command of the capital. Bothwell's heart failed him at this movement, and, hearing that they were about to surprise him in Holyrood, he fled, on the 6th of June, to Borthwick Castle, twelve miles from Edinburgh, taking the queen with him. He evidently saw that his game was played out, as he sent his plate, jewels, papers, and other effects from Holyrood and Edinburgh Castle to Dunbar. It is well to notice, from this incident, that, had there been a silver casket, it was not likely to have been left behind, for he had plenty of time to pack up everything.

Sir Robert Melville was the brother of Sir James and Andrew Melville, and though

professing to be an attached friend of Mary, as his brothers were, it is impossible to deny that he was unfaithful to the queen. It is recorded, as an illustration, that in 1567 he was entrusted with letters to Elizabeth and Cecil from Bothwell and the queen, while at the same time he was the bearer of letters from the associated lords, or murderers of Darnley, to Elizabeth. This mission, if Mary knew of it, was another proof of the treachery with which she was surrounded, and that Melville should have placed himself in this compromising position is matter of great surprise. In his declaration[1] he states that he was instructed to ask Elizabeth to excuse the Bothwell marriage. This was a most likely instruction, seeing he carried letters from the very men who brought it about; but his conduct showed that he was in sympathy with these men. Curiously enough these letters were dated on the same day, June 5th —a suspicious circumstance,—and were from Bothwell to Cecil, Bothwell to Elizabeth, Maitland to Cecil, and Mary to Cecil, as well as those from the conspirators. Bothwell was not a man who was given to letter writing, but he was in a position that was absolutely desperate. Exactly a week afterwards the lords issued a proclamation

[1] Melville Memoirs.

denouncing him as the murderer of the king, and three days thereafter he fled for his life at Carberry Hill. He was therefore in great anxiety to secure the aid and recognition of Elizabeth. His letter to her is significant, and has an important bearing on what we might call "the question of the hour." Had the marriage been *bonâ fide*, it would have been natural to suppose that Mary would herself have written Elizabeth, and it must be regarded as a suspicious circumstance against Bothwell that Mary wrote no letters at this period. From the Bothwell marriage, May 15, 1567, until May, 1568, there are no letters of hers to be found in the State Paper Office. The letter, Mary to Cecil, was doubtless written by Bothwell with the queen's signature compulsorily attached, or more probably forged. The letter of Bothwell to Elizabeth was as follows :—

Your majesty will please pardon me that at this present time I have taken the boldness to write your highness. Knowing your majesty through evil reports of my enemies to have been offended with me, which, as I never justly deserved, so now, being called to this place, I shall bestow my study and credit to the entertainment and continuance of the good amity and intelligence which heretofore has stood between your majesties. And I will be ready to do your majesty all the honour and service that is in my power, whereof ye shall have experience at such

times as it shall be your highness's pleasure to employ me. The queen having credit towards your majesty her servant Robert Melville, instructed by her in some things which he has orders to communicate, I could not omit so good an occasion of writing, and have also opened my mind to him, and charged him to make a true report thereof to your majesty, whom I beseech to credit him. I will not weary you with a longer letter. But, in conclusion, I will thus far boldly affirm, that, albeit men of greater birth and estimation might well have been preferred to me, yet none shall be more careful to see your two majesties' amity and intelligence continued, nor more anxious to do your highness honour and service. And thus committing your majesty to the protection of Almighty God, I most humbly take my leave. At Edinburgh, the fifth day of June, 1567.

Your majesty's right humble servant to command,

JAMES D(uke of Orkney).

Reading between the lines of this letter, it is not difficult to see Bothwell's duplicity. If the Queen of England will but excuse the marriage, and recognize him as the husband of Mary, he is prepared to fall down and worship her. He plays the *rôle* of a sycophant in order to obtain his own ends. Melville had some things to communicate to Elizabeth; for, according to Bothwell—

"I have opened my mind to him, and charged him to make a true report thereof. . . . I beseech your majesty

to credit him. . . . Some men of greater birth might have been preferred to me."

If the marriage was voluntary on the part of Mary, there was no need to write such a letter. But what does Melville say? "I was instructed to ask Elizabeth to excuse the Bothwell marriage." This, it will be observed, was an instruction from Bothwell, not from Mary; and there is not the shadow of a doubt that this is the reason why this cunning and deceitful letter was sent to Elizabeth, viz. to draw from her, if that were possible, her official recognition of Bothwell.

The recital of this incident has an important bearing on Mary's voluntary acceptance of Bothwell. We are evidently warranted by the circumstances in stating that such an assertion cannot now be entertained.

On the 3rd of September Mary wrote Sir Robert Melville a rather characteristic letter, which has been preserved in the archives of the Melville family at Melville House. The following is the translation of it.

Robert Melville ye shall not fail to send with this bearer to me half an ell of carnation satin and half an ell of blue satin; also cause Servier, my concierge, to send me more twined silk if there remains any; and sewing gold and sewing silver. Also one doublet and skirt of

white satin; one other carnation, one other of black satin, and the skirts with them. Send no skirts with the red doublet; also one loose gown of taffety: also ye shall send the gown and the other clothes that I requested Lady Lethington to send me. And also ye shall not fail to send my maids' clothes, for they are naked, and wonder that ye have not sent them since you left me: together with the (*camarage*) and linen cloth, of which I gave you a sample. And if the shoes be not ready made, cause them to be sent afterwards. Also ye shall cause Servier to send two pairs sheets with two ounces small black sewing silk. Also ye shall cause him to send me all the dry dames (*plowmis*) he has together with the (*perès*) he has. This ye will not fail to do, as I doubt not. Also ye shall order one dozen of needles and reels and send me; and ask Servier if he has any other covering of beds than green and send me, to put under the other covering. I wonder ye forgot to send me silver conform to promise. Committing you to God.

MARIE R.

At Locheven, September 3, 1567.

On the 11th of June, Morton and the rebels or confederate lords assembled in Edinburgh, and announced by placard that, the queen being detained prisoner by Bothwell, they have named a Secret Council to govern the kingdom and procure the release of their sovereign.[1] It will tax the ingenuity of the historian to

[1] *Labanoff.*

explain the attitude of Morton and those of his companions who signed the bond. They, more than Bothwell, were responsible for the queen's position. The excitement at this period must have been great, for another Privy Council meeting was held on the 12th of June, or three days before Carberry Hill. The Lords of the Secret Council, who were practically the men who compelled Bothwell to seize and marry the queen, issued this proclamation :—

"The lords, understanding that Bothwell put violent hands on the queen on the 23rd of April last, and 'wardet' her to the Castle of Dunbar, and thereafter conveyed her, surrounded with his friends, to such places where he had dominion and power, the queen being destitute of counsel and servants. In which time he seduced her into a dishonest marriage with himself, which from the beginning is null and of no effect, for sundry causes known as well to other nations as to the inhabitants of this realm. It is contrary to the law of God and true religion. The lords are assuredly informed that Bothwell, in order to accomplish the marriage, was the devisor, the principal author, and instrument of the murder of Darnley. When he had the queen in his hands he caused a divorcement to be made and wrongously led—the process and sentence thereof began, ended, and sentence given, in two days. Not content with the murder of the king, seducing the queen, and holding her in captivity, we are informed he will commit the like

murder on the infant prince. The said lords mean with all their forces to deliver the queen furth of the most miserable bondage foresaid."

This proclamation required the lieges to be ready, on three days' warning, to come forward and assist them in releasing the queen, and concludes :—

"The which to do and faithfully to perform we promise, as we shall answer to Almighty God, upon our honour, truth, and fidelity, as we are noble men and love the honour of our native country. If we fail at any point, we are content to sustain perjury and infamy, and to be accounted enemies and betrayers of our native country for ever."

It was resolved to attack Bothwell at Borthwick Castle, but he fled, leaving the queen and half a dozen persons to protect themselves. The queen refused to open the gates to the rebels; and, at midnight, dressed as a cavalier, she let herself down from the window, and, though the height must be about thirty feet, she reached the ground in safety, mounted a horse which she found waiting, and rode off. The moorland country around Borthwick was unknown to her, and, after wandering about all night, she discovered in the morning that she was only about two miles from where she started. She was

immediately confronted by Bothwell, and he hurried away with her to Dunbar. The conspirators returned to Edinburgh. Bothwell's conduct became intolerable, while Moray, for his own ends and to evade suspicion, had disappeared. The infant prince was at Stirling, under Mar. Bothwell desired to have the child, and, when this became known, the conspirators assembled at Stirling to decide what steps to take. They resolved to defend the prince, but it does not appear that Bothwell did anything further. Mary, in her distressing situation, was, as may be supposed, deeply concerned as to what she should do, and she resolved to raise an army and endeavour to subdue the conspirators by force of arms, and to assert her sovereign authority. She eventually succeeded in getting two thousand men to join her standard, under Lords Seton, Yester, Borthwick, and Bothwell. At the head of this force she advanced from Dunbar to Seton House on the 14th of June, remaining there for the night. She issued a proclamation, the wording of which shows that Bothwell wrote it in her name. Considering how much she despised him, she could have had no sympathy with it. It was read to the army on the morning of the 15th of June, as they were leaving Seton

for Carberry Hill. It said the confederates were traitors who, for private ends, had endeavoured to overturn the Government. They meant to prosecute Bothwell for the murder of Darnley, after he had been acquitted of the crime: and declared their resolution to rescue her from captivity. She was no captive, as they who had recommended her marriage with Bothwell knew. They had taken arms to defend the prince her son, but he was in their own hands, and how could they think him in danger?

Following on this came the memorable engagement on Carberry Hill. If we put the foregoing proclamation alongside the proceedings of that day, we have no difficulty in marking the duplicity of the game that was being played. By this proclamation the rebels, or "associated lords," were to release the queen, "as they should answer to Almighty God," and to punish Bothwell would be a fair inference as part of the transaction. We shall see, as the narrative proceeds, that, so far from respecting the solemn oath which they had taken, they took the queen from Bothwell, and put her in captivity, and they declined to punish Bothwell. This proclamation, therefore, though carefully engrossed on the register of the Privy Council, may be dismissed as a deliberate imposition and an

attempt to mislead posterity at the expense of the queen. It would be idle to speak of morality in connection with these movements, for the Privy Council recognized no moral principles whatever. The treachery which this incident manifests is probably without a parallel, and it requires a considerable stretch of imagination to believe that men occupying the position of these nobles could be guilty of such conduct.

On the 15th of June both armies met at Carberry Hill. Neither of them was anxious to fight, but the conspirators were determined that Mary should be separated from Bothwell. They were not particularly anxious to seize him, as that would have led to trouble. Du Croc, the French ambassador, a man of integrity, but whose honesty has been challenged by Nau, the queen's secretary, on account of his being a follower of Catherine de Medici, spent some hours in endeavouring to mediate between the parties. Here is the reply of the rebels :—

"If the queen is willing to withdraw herself from the wretch who holds her captive, we shall recognize her as our sovereign, and will serve her on our knees as the humblest of her subjects; or if Bothwell will come forth and make good his challenge to meet in single combat any one who should maintain that he was the murderer

of the late king, we shall produce a champion and a second, or, if he desires it, ten or twelve."

Du Croc delivered this message to Mary, and she expressed her regret that they should act in contradiction to their own signatures, "after they have themselves married me to him, having previously acquitted him of the deed of which they now accuse him." She expressed her willingness to pardon them if they treated her as their lawful sovereign. Du Croc was unable to accomplish anything, and returned to Edinburgh. Kirkaldy of Grange then came forward, and, at the queen's request, had an interview with her. Bothwell challenged any man to single combat. Tullibardine and Kirkaldy offered themselves, but were refused, as not being Bothwell's equals in rank. He wanted Morton, but Morton was too crafty, and sent a substitute, Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres, probably the greatest ruffian of the lot. Lindsay, who was anxious to fight Bothwell, accepted the challenge, and, as a piece of undisguised hypocrisy, he fell on his knees before the army and uttered a long extempore prayer in a loud voice, in which he implored the Almighty to strengthen his arm, punish the guilty, and protect the innocent. Lindsay's subsequent conduct to the queen is a severe comment on this appeal to the

Almighty. The queen sent for Kirkaldy, and told him she was willing to leave Bothwell and go over to the lords, if they would do as they had said, viz. "love and serve her if she would abandon him who was the murderer of her husband." It is noticeable that she now calls Bothwell the murderer of her husband, and that fact practically disposes of the question of her marriage with Bothwell being compulsory. Kirkaldy took the message to the lords, and returned, assuring her in their united names that they would do as they had said. Bothwell then left the field, and went to Dunbar, where he remained till the 26th of June, when he left Scotland never to return. The queen surrendered to Kirkaldy in the following words: "Laird of Grange, I surrender me unto you upon the condition you rehearsed unto me in the name of the lords," and gave him her hand.

He knelt and kissed her hand, and, with his cap off, accompanied her down the hill to meet the confederates. The queen was on horseback, he leading her horse by the bridle. She was accompanied by one of her four Maries—Mary Seton—also on horseback, a lady whose untiring devotion to her in all her troubles was very noble and single-hearted. When she arrived at the enemy's camp, she said: "My lords, I am come to you, not

out of any fear I had of my life, nor yet doubting of the victory, if matters had come to the worst, but to save the effusion of blood, and therefore I have come trusting in your promise that you will respect me, and give me the obedience due to your native queen and lawful sovereign." Morton ironically replied, "Here, madam, is the place where your grace should be, and here we are ready to defend and obey you as loyally as ever the nobles of the realm did your progenitors."

Immediately the mob, for there was a considerable mob in the confederate army, began to yell and insult her, and she saw she was betrayed. She was led into Edinburgh with the confederate army, Morton, Maitland, and Lindsay walking at each side of her. On the way she was subjected to the most insulting treatment.

Kirkaldy remonstrated with the conspirators for their treachery, and threatened to leave them, and reminded them that he had been commissioned to assure the queen of their loyal services if she parted from Bothwell. Morton, who was always ready with an excuse, produced a letter which he said Mary had just written to Bothwell, and which was intercepted. It stated that she was resolved never to abandon Bothwell, though for

a time she might be obliged to yield to circumstances. Kirkaldy, not suspecting forgery, said no more. The letter was a forgery. The "lords" who headed the confederate army, and who were guilty of the treachery, were evidently the merest creatures of the English Government. These it is believed, were Morton, Lindsay, Maitland, Atholl, and Balfour. The question that naturally arises at this point is, What became of the queen's troops when they saw that she was betrayed? Where were Lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick? There is reason to believe that her troops were untrained, undisciplined men; but their leaders ought to have followed the confederates and endeavoured to protect the queen from the scandalous treatment she received, even if a skirmish had ensued. They could not but be aware of the betrayal. It is not at all clear why a courageous man like Lord Seton did not pursue them and offer battle, unless he felt that his troops were incapable.

On arriving at Edinburgh she was lodged for the night in Simon Preston's house, adjoining the Tron Church. Preston joined the rebels against Mary. Subsequently he went to Paris, and died there. Before his death he was very penitent for his rebellion, considering the allegiance he

owed the queen as his sovereign and his gratitude due to her as a benefactress.[1] In Preston's house the queen was shut up in a room, and none of her ladies allowed to come near her. She was without food and without conveniences of any kind, and was strictly guarded. In the course of the evening Maitland paid her a visit, and made one of his deceptive speeches, charging her with thwarting the execution of the justice demanded upon the death of Darnley, and stating that Bothwell should be hanged. This was a pretty speech from the man who helped to defend Bothwell at his trial, and who aided Bothwell in his seizure of the queen by accompanying him to Dunbar and espousing the cause of Bothwell against her![2]

She answered Maitland, that she was ready to refute these accusations by joining with the lords in the inquiry which was about to be made into the murder. As to Bothwell, no one knew better than he—Maitland—how everything had been arranged, he, more than any other person, having been the adviser. She feared that he, Morton and Balfour, more than any others, hindered the inquiry to which they were the consenting and guilty

[1] *Nau.*

[2] Preston was laird of Craigmillar, and his wife was sister to Maitland's first wife. Atholl was married to another sister, while the Earl of Mar was married to Tullibardine's sister.

parties. Bothwell had told her so, and he had showed her their signatures. They were all miserable wretches, she continued, if they made her bear the punishment of their crimes. She threatened Maitland, if he continued to act with these nobles, that she would publish in the end what Bothwell had told her about his doings. Maitland had no answer, and, with a shuffling reply, that the conversation might cause him to be suspected, he left her.[1] The miserable plight she was in, her dress torn, and subjected as she was to the most brutal indignities, compelled her to appear at the window of her apartment next morning, and appeal to the crowd for help. She called on the people to deliver her from the cruelty of the traitors by whom she had been betrayed and was thus barbarously treated. The Protestants rejoiced at the queen's condition; but the rest of the people were gradually moved with compassion at her distress, and threatened a riot if she was not released. Morton and Maitland, with their usual hypocrisy, when they saw this change of front, went into the house, and told the queen she had mistaken their intentions, for they meant to replace her in Holyrood immediately, and induced her to ask the mob to disperse. On

[1] *Nau.*

her doing so they retired. This was an act of great simplicity on Mary's part, and she had cause to repent it. In the evening they took her to Holyrood, Morton walking on one side of her, and Atholl on the other. She had fainted more than once since the morning, and was in great distress, but she was in the hands of traitors, who were indifferent to her condition. On the night she was in Preston's house the rebels looted Holyrood Palace, stole her plate and jewels, and carried away her wardrobe. The plate they melted down to make money. Glencairn went into the queen's chapel, and, being a fanatic, he broke down the altar and demolished the pictures, statuary, and ornaments. What was all this ruffianism to lead to? It seems pretty evident it was a regency they wanted, with themselves as the rulers and governors of the realm. This would give them *carte blanche* for confiscation purposes and the seizure of property, which they so much wanted; but, to do all this, it was necessary to dethrone the queen. No language is too strong to condemn the conduct of these men after her honourable surrender at Carberry Hill.

A great deal has been said, by Dr. Skelton and others, about Maitland's position in this

matter. One writer[1] who accuses Mary, quotes a letter, Maitland to Cecil, dated June 21, 1567:—

"The reverence and affection I have ever borne to the queen, my mistress, hath been the occasion to stay me so long in company with the Earl of Bothwell at court—as my life hath every day been in danger since he began to aspire to any grandeur."

This letter only proves Maitland to have been a knave. It was written six days after Carberry Hill. So far from Maitland having any reverence or affection for the queen, he was one of the traitors on that occasion, and supported Morton in the betrayal of his sovereign, and in the insulting proceedings which then took place; while, the same night, he was accessory to her being forcibly taken to Lochleven, and put in captivity. This is the man who, six days afterwards, wrote of his "reverence and affection for the queen."

In the Hardwicke Collection recently presented to the British Museum there is a different report of the events of this period, evidently written by one of Moray's supporters. We are informed by it that on the 11th of June, 1567, Mar, Eskine, Sempill, Lindsay, and Sir William Murray, with divers

[1] *Henderson.*

others, arrived in Edinburgh, and the inhabitants believed that the castle should have shot at them. They announced by proclamation that Darnley was lately murdered, and that they were come to search for the doers thereof, that they might be punished. The said day, before noon, there was a proclamation by the queen, charging all persons betwixt sixty and sixteen to come to Borthwick and receive her grace, under pain of death : also charging them to come to Edinburgh, and pass with their lieutenants where they should be commanded, under same penalty. On the 14th, Atholl with the secretary, Maitland, came to Edinburgh, and took part with the said lords, with a great number of men, to punish the said slaughter. Same day, the queen being in Dunbar, issued a proclamation requesting all men betwixt sixty and sixteen to meet her at Musselburgh the following morning. On the 15th of June, at 10 a.m., the queen and her husband, with a great following, came from Dunbar to Seton, and remained there till the following morning. On the night of the 15th, at 11 p.m., word came to the lords, that the queen, her husband, and army were coming on them, either to cause them to go out of Edinburgh or else to fight. The Lords convened their supporters,

and with great diligence passed out of Edinburgh to revenge the king's slaughter, or to die. They passed with great haste to the Midland bridge at Musselburgh, where the two armies being in each other's sight, strove continually, from 9 a.m. to 12 noon, as to who should have pre-eminence or advantage of this position. They passed to Cousland, and the queen to Faside, where they lay till 8 p.m., and, after long negotiations passing between them, the lords consented either to have the queen or else to die. Passing forward to fight the queen, they caused her husband to depart towards Dunbar. She, on the promise of the Laird of Grange that she would suffer nothing, came to Lord Home, and so her army departed, and her majesty came to Edinburgh with the lords without any manner of shedding of blood. The queen caused proclamation to be made, that whoever should slay an earl should have forty pound land, a lord twenty pound land, a baron ten pound land. She was lodged in James Henryson's lodging, laird of Fordel and provost of Edinburgh. There the queen remained that night. The principal of her grace's preservers were Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Home, Lindsay, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Master of Montrose, and Sir William Murray, with others such as

Drumlanrig, Cessford old and young, and the Laird of Grange. On the 16th, at 10 p.m., the queen was conveyed to Holyrood, and same night to Lochleven, there to remain during the lords' pleasure.

This report cannot be accepted as either authentic or accurate. Its inaccuracy is conspicuous particularly in the last sentence, which gives the names of the so-called queen's preservers. The reverse is the truth. These men were her greatest foes. Not one of them appears to have been on her side at Carberry Hill, and the entire record of this event as in the Hardwicke Collection is evidently fraudulent, and a mere travesty of the truth.

After the flight of Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, governor of Edinburgh Castle, broke open Bothwell's private desk, which evidently had not been removed, and took out of it the bond for Darnley's murder, also the one signed at Ainslie's tavern, requiring Bothwell to marry the queen. Balfour and Morton afterwards quarrelled, and we are informed, from a letter, Drury to Cecil, November 28th, that Maitland destroyed the latter bond shortly after its discovery. Though the original has been destroyed, a copy has fortunately been preserved in the State Paper Office.

The correspondence between the conspirators and the English court was abundant at this period. Not a single step for the ruin of Mary was taken without the knowledge of Drury and Cecil, Elizabeth's ministers.[1] Mary's conduct at Carberry Hill is inconsistent with any affection for Bothwell, but perfectly consistent with the statement that the marriage had been forced upon her, and with the fact that she had been miserable ever since it took place.[2] Burton says Mary and Bothwell parted at Carberry Hill "like fond lovers, with many kisses and much sorrow on her part. His last words to the queen was an exhortation to continue true to her plighted faith." If Burton believed this we should be surprised. All the conversation of Mary and Bothwell at Carberry Hill was in the hearing of witnesses, and their final parting was in presence of Kirkaldy of Grange. No historian mentions what Burton has said, and his authority is the "Captain of Inchkeith." But the Captain of Inchkeith was a fraud, and incapable of making any statement that a historian could quote. Burton's words are the merest conjecture. He further informs us that "several times in the afternoon she appeared at the window (Preston's

[1] *Strickland.* [2] *Hosack.*

house) so scantily dressed that the sight was inconsistent with proper feminine decorum." For this statement he gives no authority, and without that it is of no value. He could not but know that her dress was dirty and torn, and that it was the one she wore at Carberry Hill. She was locked and guarded in a solitary room, and had almost become delirious from brutal treatment. She had not even water to wash her hands, and she had had no food since the morning of the previous day. These are the circumstances of the queen appearing at the window of Preston's house, and the words we have quoted are inexcusable. The historian further refers to a conversation between Maitland and Du Croc, the former stating that the queen reproached him for severing her from her husband, with whom she hoped to live and die with all the satisfaction in the world. As Maitland was a traitor and accessory to the seizure of his sovereign, and was responsible for a large share of the treachery at Carberry Hill, and the subsequent ill-treatment of the queen, it cannot be admitted that any such conversation ever took place. Burton gives no authority for it. The same night, after being taken to Holyrood, she was at midnight dragged from her chamber by Lindsay, and Ruthven, and a

small company of soldiers, and, without knowing where she was going, was taken to Lochleven on horseback, to be detained there as a prisoner. Of the cruel and disgraceful episodes in Mary's life, this was probably one of the most brutal. While Morton and Maitland were parties to it, it is believed that Elizabeth and Cecil encouraged and abetted it. The order under which she was taken to Lochleven is said to have been signed by Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, Atholl, Mar, Home, and Glencairn. The inclusion of Atholl's name seems a curious circumstance, for, although he was undoubtedly among the conspirators at this period, he was not a man who made himself prominent as an adversary of his sovereign.

When the traitors arrived at Lochleven, they had a boat in readiness to take them over to the castle. Mary, however, refused to enter the boat, and had to be lifted forcibly into it by Lindsay and Ruthven.[1] An escort, it is said, was in pursuit of them. Mary was confined in those rooms forming the third floor of the second tower of Lochleven Castle still in existence. The apartments

[1] Lindsay was a brother-in-law of Moray, having married one of the daughters of Lady Douglas. This lady had three sons and three daughters to James V., and two sons and seven daughters to Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven.

Mary's escape from Lochleven. The historian very well puts it :—

"That such an event should have occurred in that vigilant and suspicious age, without leaving a vestige of a whisper about it in the correspondence and memoirs of the time is a thing hard to be believed."

Tytler, who evidently took his inspiration from Melville, says : "The queen, who believed herself with child, declared her firm resolution rather to die than desert her husband and declare her child illegitimate." This cruel and calumnious statement is the invention of Melville's brain. The most extraordinary observation comes from Nau. He says—

"Shortly after her arrival at Lochleven, Mary gave birth to twins, stillborn. I discredit the story told by Castlenau, who would have us believe that Mary had a daughter by Bothwell, who became a nun at Soissons."

Nau, who is usually correct, is wrong here. Mary was seized by Bothwell on the 23rd of April preceding, and she was taken to Lochleven on the 17th of June. The statement therefore, as put by Nau, is absurd. Labanoff, again, on the authority of Lingard, says, "In February, 1568, Mary was delivered of a daughter at Lochleven : the child was carried to France, where she

eventually became a nun in the convent of Soissons." This Nau denies, nor is there any *bonâ fide* reason for believing that such a thing took place; and, indeed, Lingard can only quote from a previous writer. He had no personal knowledge. In all the circumstances the balance of proof is against the statement that anything of the kind occurred. But while Burton has been careful not to traduce the queen in this matter, he has gone to an extreme on another point. That Mary possessed great powers of fascination physically and mentally, no one who reads her history can doubt. Burton, however, tells us of the fall of one after another of those about her "under the witchery of her blandishments;" and he singles out George Douglas as having fallen in love with her, and supports this with a tradition that a certain Robert Douglas, in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, was a grandson of Mary Queen of Scots and George Douglas. This is the merest tradition, was unworthy of that historian's notice, and is too ludicrous for serious consideration. George Douglas behaved nobly to Mary, and was one of her most devoted servants and adherents. Nothing inconsistent with this ever occurred between them.

A meeting of the Privy Council was held at

Edinburgh on the 21st of June. Sederunt: Morton, Atholl, Glencairn, Mar, Home, Ruthven, Sempill, Sanquhar, Ochiltree.

This meeting resolved as follows:—

"Forasmuch as the Lords of Secret Council, and others of the nobility and faithful subjects of this realm, having assembled themselves for seeking revenge of the cruel and horrible murder of the queen's late husband; for the taking of her body and marrying her unlawfully, being in thraldom and captivity—both against the laws of God and man; and to restore and establish justice universally through the realm. And seeing the administration of justice is one of the principal things wherein their care consists: ordains a herald to pass to the market cross of Edinburgh, and there by open proclamation command and require all and sundry the lords of council and session, advocates and procurators, that they repair to the borough of Edinburgh, and proceed in the administration of justice to all the lieges of this realm; which the lords assure them they may safely do without fear, danger or impediment; certifying them if they fail and absent themselves they shall be esteemed partakers with the authors of the said murder accordingly; and declaring to our sovereign lieges who have to defend in session that they repair to the borough of Edinburgh, certifying all persons that they may come, pass, and repass at their pleasure, without impediment shown them in thus coming, remaining, or departing safely."

This is a specimen of the "administration of justice."

The queen being now in captivity, and these men who form this sederunt being Darnley's murderers, they continued to hoodwink the public by the issue of false and fraudulent resolutions. They imprisoned the queen, and now the "cloven foot" appears: they constitute themselves governors of the kingdom, which is the goal they have been leading up to since the marriage of Darnley. Moray, knowing that his rebellion was now pretty safe, and that Morton was able and willing to carry out his views, kept himself as much as possible in the background.

Again, on the 26th of June, the Privy Council met (same sederunt), and issued an order to the capitaine, constable, and keepers of Dunbar Castle, to deliver up that fortification within six days, failing which they would be held as partakers with Bothwell in his crimes. This indicates that the seizure of the queen was a compulsory act, and quite outwith her knowledge. "Our sovereign lieges" were requested not to pretend ignorance of this murder, nor were they to take on themselves liberty to give help or hospitality to Bothwell, or they would be considered traitors.

Whoever would bring him to Edinburgh would get a reward of one thousand crowns. When Bothwell left Carberry Hill, none of the rebels attempted to take him, or even pursue him. He calmly rode off the field unmolested. This offer of one thousand crowns was mere buffoonery.

On the 27th of June, William and John Blackadder, James Edmonston, and Urquhart Fraser were brought before the Lords of the Secret Council, and charged with the murder of Darnley. They were all put to the torture and executed. The young King of France, hearing of Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven, proposed to release her. His minister, Martigny, who was standing by, said, "Give me but three thousand harquebusiers, paid for three months, and I will set the Queen of Scots at liberty in spite of her rebel lords or adversaries, or I return to France no more." The proposal, however, was put down by Catherine de Medici, who was no friend of Mary.

The Privy Council met on the 2nd of July, and resolved to pursue the murderers, and procure the dissolution of the unlawful marriage; and again, at a meeting on the 9th of July, it is recorded that—

"after the horrible and unworthy murder of the king,

committed under silence of night in his own lodging, by Bothwell and his accomplices, the said Bothwell continued in his mischief and wickedness by ravishing her majesty, putting her in bondage, and contracting an unlawful marriage with her."

This model Privy Council must be congratulated on the perfection of its knavery, seeing that many who composed it were Bothwell's accomplices.

Bothwell had gone to Orkney or Shetland. A proclamation was issued forbidding the people to give him aid of any kind, to pay him money, or to give him or his retinue meat or drink, arms or weapons. And at a meeting on the 21st of July, the business is thus recorded :—

"After the horrible and unworthy murder of the king, committed under silence of night by Bothwell and his accomplices, the said Bothwell continued in his mischievous wickedness after he had carried her captive to Dunbar, constrained her, being in his bondage and thraldom, to contract an ungodly and pretended marriage with him, as neither God's laws nor man's could permit. Which, being considered by the nobility and faithful subjects of this realm, with the danger which the prince stood in ; when as the murderer of his father he had aspired to that position that easily might destroy the innocent. Compelled therefore by just necessity, it behoves them to take arms to punish and revenge the said shameful murder, wherewith this realm and lieges

thereof were slandered and defamed; to relieve our said sovereign furth of the bondage and ignominy which, with Bothwell under pretence of the said unlawful marriage, she sustained; to preserve and defend the prince from the bloody cruelty of him that slew his father; and finally to restore and establish justice in this troubled commonwealth, abused in the corrupt times of Bothwell's usurping government. And we, being in the field[1] ready to give battle to him and all who would maintain his wrongs and ungodly quarrel, he utterly refused to defend his innocency by single combat according to the laws of arms—a lord of parliament and a baron and gentleman undefamed offering to maintain the accusation against him in presence of both companies, etc."

There is no indication here that the queen had anything to do with the murder. It was carried out by "Bothwell and his accomplices." Looking to the frequency of these Privy Council meetings at this period, it is evident that there was a strong element of suspicion amongst the lieges that the queen's ministers and others of the nobles were the conspirators. This feeling of suspicion would obtain general circulation, although it is carefully kept out and evaded from the official papers in the State Paper Office. These elaborate resolutions of the Privy Council were not formulated without due and sufficient reasons,

[1] Carberry Hill.

and no doubt the conspirators felt themselves in a position of considerable jeopardy.

At this period John Knox was preaching in St. Giles, and branding Mary as a murderess, for no other reason than that she was a Catholic. His sentiments fell flat, and the citizens were unmoved. This confirms what we have already stated. The conspirators were disappointed at this, and determined to ask the queen to resign the crown to her infant son. In their opinion this would compel the people to acknowledge her guilt. Every effort and every threat was used to compel her abdication, but she firmly refused. Robert Melville, who it was supposed had a good deal of influence with her, was deputed to go, on the 1st of July, and get her to sign the abdication. He did so, and used all his eloquence to persuade her; but she was unmoved, and would listen to no remonstrance. Some days afterwards Robert Melville was sent on a second mission to her, but all in vain. Then he was deputed to go a third time, with a similar result. They then resolved to compel her, and sent commissioners for the purpose. On the 24th of July, Melville, Lindsay, and Ruthven went over to Lochleven, and obtained admission to the queen's presence. She was ill and in bed, and on these men entering

they had the rudeness to order her two female attendants to retire. She was ordered to sign three papers. By the first, she was to resign in favour of her son. By the second, she was to appoint Moray regent during her son's minority. By the third, she was to appoint a council to administer the government until Moray's return. Lindsay was a passionate man, and behaved like a ruffian. He burst into the queen's presence with the papers in his hands, full of excitement and rage. Mary became agitated; for she recalled Riccio's murder, when Lindsay stood by Ruthven, instigating him to the commission of the deed. He told the queen that, unless she signed the papers instantly, he would sign them himself with her blood, and seal them on her heart. Mary became pale and motionless, and nearly fainted. Melville whispered to her, that papers signed in captivity could not be valid if she chose to revoke them afterwards. Lindsay again broke out, and told her he would put her into the lake if she hesitated a moment longer. "I am not yet five and twenty," she replied, and again burst into tears. Lindsay swore that, having begun the matter, he would also finish it. He then forced the pen into her hand, grasped her arm in the struggle so rudely as to leave the mark of his

fingers. In absolute terror she affixed her signature. George Douglas, Lindsay's brother-in-law, was present, but could do nothing single-handed. From that moment, however, he took Mary's part, and resolved to release her. Lindsay had now to get these papers officially sealed at the Privy Seal Office, Edinburgh. The keeper said to him, "As long as the queen's majesty is in ward I will seal no such letters." Lindsay by violence wrenched the seal from him, and by superior force compelled him to affix it to the deeds. Lindsay then proceeded, with Ruthven and the other conspirators, to inform the people that she had voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of her son, and that she entrusted the government to a regency. This was bound to create a false impression over the kingdom. If she had had a few ruffians like Lindsay to espouse her cause, and fight for her, she could have utilized them on this occasion. Such men were not scarce, but, unfortunately, they were all on the other side. Her own supporters were not equal to the occasion, otherwise they would have risen in arms and avenged this conspiracy. According to Burton, this was no outrage at all—a mere matter of business. He says, "There is no doubt the tenor of the Casket Letters was brought before

her." We have no evidence of that. It was not known at this date, nor for months afterwards, that such things as Casket Letters existed. Yet Burton would make us believe they were put before Mary five months before Morton disclosed the fact; and he maintains that Mary signed the abdication voluntarily, because it is so declared in the text! The circumstances under which the signature took place refute this statement *in toto*, and the best proof that it was forced is its revocation the moment she escaped from Lochleven.

It was part of their scheme to dethrone the queen, and having secured her abdication, their way to the administration of the kingdom would be clear. Why, may it be asked, was it necessary to appeal to ruffianism for the accomplishment of this object? Lindsay was never called to account for the outrage—a strong proof that the conspiracy was recognized by the queen's ministers, that it was directed by Moray, and that its object was the murder of Mary and Darnley. Nau informs us that an attempt was made to poison the queen:—

"This poor queen, despoiled of sceptre, crown, and all the goods of this world, and to whom nothing remained but the bare life itself, was now attempted to be poisoned, as appeared plainly by the swelling of one half of her body, chiefly of one arm and one leg."

The vigour of her youth contributed much to expel this poison and hinder its effects, but this incident shows how violent and lawless these men were in order to further their own ends.

The day after the outrage at Lochleven, Maitland said to the English ambassador, "My Lords have called me to declare unto you what it hath pleased the queen to conclude as upon her own voluntary advice. Finding herself in health unable to take the care and government of the realm, and being desirous to see her son settled in her stead in her lifetime, she hath commanded them to proceed to Stirling to perform the inauguration of the young prince," and requested him to assist as the representative of Elizabeth. Throgmorton, to his credit, gave Maitland a prompt refusal.

At a meeting of Privy Council on the 25th of July the deed of abdication was read, after which the Council resolved :—

"That the horrible murder of the king is so odious, not only before God, but also to the whole world, with continued infamy and shame to the realm if it shall not be punished. Therefore the noblemen, barons, and others under subscribed shall, with all their force, strength and power, concur, assist, and take part together to further and maintain the punishment of the said murder

in all persons that shall be found guilty of the same: seeing the wrath of God shall not depart from the country where innocent blood is shed before the same shall be cleansed by shedding of blood of the offenders."

When we consider that Moray and the other conspirators were the men who formulated this resolution, we can have no difficulty in concluding that treachery and duplicity were with them first principles. This policy was a choice one for blinding the people as to what was going on, and it succeeded; while the resolution may be disposed of as a piece of refined hypocrisy.

In the Dalmahoy Papers[1] there is a curious document bearing on this outrage. It is called a notarial protest, dated July 28, 1567, by William Douglas of Lochleven, in presence of Queen Mary, touching her demission of the crown in favour of her son. It sets forth that he entered the chamber of the queen, and stated that he had come to know how in his absence her majesty had demitted the crown on the previous day. He now wishes to learn whether the act had been done of her own will and free consent. Thereupon the queen homologated the act, and declared that she had not been compelled; and Douglas protests that hereafter she should not be held to

[1] Yelverton Collection.

have been a captive and under restraint at the doing thereof.

It must be remembered that Sir William Douglas was the uterine brother of Moray (same mother but different fathers), and that he was the queen's gaoler. He was deeply interested in her downfall, and in Moray's success. He certainly did not make himself prominent as a member of Moray's faction, but the compulsory abdication of the queen has been proved beyond doubt, and is matter of history. This paper, therefore, only shows that Douglas perjured himself to save his brother, and that this was his contribution to the conspiracy.

When Maitland returned to Edinburgh, Morton and the conspirators instructed him to go to Hamilton Palace, and invite the Hamiltons to the coronation of the young king. The Hamiltons, however, refused, and retired to Dumbarton to raise troops to release the queen and restore her to her kingdom. A bond was written empowering them to do so, and was signed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Argyll, Huntly, Ross, Fleming, and Herries. The Hamiltons showed themselves to be true friends of Mary on this occasion, but they were injudicious and impulsive, and in military matters

they were not a match for the conspirators: not that the conspirators could boast of great bravery —that they could not do. If the Hamiltons had had a good leader they would have overturned Moray and his faction, but that want was conspicuous during the whole of Mary's reign. Lord Claude Hamilton was the best soldier of the family. He was unquestionably a brave officer, but he was without ingenuity, and without the tactics required by a successful military commander.

On the 29th of July, four days after the Lochleven outrage, the rebels crowned the infant prince in the East Church, Stirling. The babe slept all the time, it is supposed from the effects of anodyne. Lindsay and Ruthven, in the name of the queen, renounced in his favour her right and title to the throne, gave up the papers she had subscribed, and surrendered the sword, sceptre, and crown. The papers were read, and afterwards sent to Elizabeth. Morton bent over the child, and, laying his hand on the Scriptures, took the coronation oath for the prince; whereupon Adam Bothwell, the apostate bishop of Orkney, anointed the prince as King of Scotland, a ceremony that offended Knox, who evidently was present. The bishop next delivered to him the sword and sceptre, and

put the crown on his head. After this mockery they returned to Stirling Castle, Atholl carrying the crown, Morton the sceptre, Glencairn the sword, and Mar the royal infant. This performance is one of the greatest farces in history. Mary was unfortunate in not having a strong man as the leader of her party at this crisis. Herries and Seton were devoted supporters, but they were not powerful enough as against Moray, Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven.

The same day the occupants of Lochleven grossly insulted the queen. She had inquired the meaning of the bonfires and rejoicings (she had not been informed of the coronation), and they said that her authority was abolished by these rejoicings, and that she no longer had the power to avenge herself on them. The queen is reported to have fallen on her knees, wept bitterly, and prayed to the Almighty that she might before her death see her enemies and rebellious subjects brought into the same trouble, desolation, and sorrow to which they had reduced her; and, especially, that before the end of the year she might see the laird as wretched as she then was. Hearing this, the laird left the chamber in terror. Before the end of the year, when she had escaped from the castle, the laird would have

committed suicide had he not been restrained by his servants.[1] Tytler informs us that, in July, Lord Herries had a meeting with Lord Scrope, in which he declared that if Morton and his supporters would set his mistress at liberty, he was ready to assist them in prosecuting Darnley's murderers; but if they intended to bring the queen to trial, he would defend her, though forsaken by all the world. Lord Herries was all through life a noble and single-hearted supporter of the queen.

It is noticeable that Froude gives us a false view of Moray altogether at this period. He tells us that "Moray's behaviour in France was marked by that incorruptible integrity that distinguished him through life;" but he forgets to add—

> "Moray stated that he would accept with gratitude such favours from the King of France as were consistent with the ancient treaties between the countries."[2]

In consequence of this polite hint, he received a present of plate, of the value of three thousand crowns. Yet he assured the English ambassador that he had refused all favours from the French

[1] *Nau.* [2] *Hosack.*

court, although, on his return to Scotland on the 11th of August, he received from the French ambassador in London another present of plate, and an annuity of four thousand francs a year (£150 sterling). And this is the man, according to Froude, of "incorruptible integrity." Moray, on his return, was appointed regent, but he made it a pretended condition that he should first see his sister at Lochleven. Throgmorton requested permission from the conspirators also to visit her, which request was refused. He therefore desired Moray to go himself, which Moray did, accompanied by Morton, Atholl, and Lindsay. That was on the 15th or 16th of August, four days after Moray's return from France. The queen received them in her miserable chamber with a passionate outburst of weeping, just as she was sitting down to supper. Moray refused to sup with her, though she pressed him to do so. He was stolid, heartless, and spoke under reserve. After supper she requested to speak with him alone. The interview commenced in the gardens outside the castle, where they walked for a considerable time, and afterwards it was continued indoors until after midnight. He spoke harshly to her, and could find no apology for her so-called misgovernment. All she could urge on her own

behalf made no impression on him. Assuming the *rôle* of a hypocrite, he spoke to her of the mercy of God as her chief refuge, and gave her his promise to employ all his influence to secure her life: but the sequel shows that he had no intention of doing so. She was most anxious for him to remain a day or two, but he promptly refused, because it would expose him to the suspicion of his companions! He saw her next morning before leaving, when he was in a somewhat better mood. She requested him to take the custody of her jewels and other articles of value, but he was apparently more averse to receive them than to accept the regency. She, however, wrote a letter to him afterwards, giving him the custody of her jewels and all she had of value.[1] This incident borders on the grotesque. Moray had already seized her jewels on the night of Carberry Hill, when Holyrood was looted. But the innocent and hapless queen was quite unconscious of this. He assured her he would secure the safety of her person, "but as for her liberty it lay not in his power; nor was it good for her to seek it, nor presently to have it, in many respects." Dr. Gilbert Stuart, referring to this interview, says: "He took his

[1] *Hosack.*

leave of her, and, embracing anew this pious traitor, she sent her blessing with him to the prince, her son."

Moray on leaving requested Sir William Douglas, Lindsay, and Ruthven to treat the queen with gentleness and all good usage, but this was mere irony. Moray paid her another visit some time afterwards, accompanied by Morton and Sir James Balfour. As they entered her chamber a violent storm burst over the castle, and blew in the lattice of the window. Mary, pointing at Balfour, said, "It must be for some arch traitor." Moray spoke to her as sullenly and heartlessly as before. When she discovered that he was her determined enemy, she told him that, since he had dealt with her so unjustly and basely in every particular which she had required of him, she would never apply to him again on any occasion whatever. She reminded him of the unlimited trust she had always reposed in him, of the leniency with which she had forgiven his repeated acts of disloyalty, and of the many marks of her favour he had received from her. She upbraided him for the injustice and baseness with which he had acted towards her and constituted himself her sworn enemy, and she declined to hold further intercourse with him.

She would rather wear out her life a perpetual prisoner than have freedom by means of him. She hoped that the just God, the avenger of the oppressed, would free her to his disgrace, damage, and ruin. Then, seizing his hand, she protested that, cost what it might, sooner or later he should repent. She then left him.[1] Mary's prophecy was two years after fulfilled by Moray's assassination. We suffer much inconvenience from the scarcity of historical records of that period, and from the absolutely false nature of much that we possess. The visits of Moray to Lochleven of which we have any report are only two or three in number. What does the queen say about him and his designs?

"Moray secretly endeavoured to legitimate himself: and, pretending to love me, would not leave me alone, and wished to take charge of all the offices, strongholds, and the whole government of the kingdom; and he was so well strengthened that he had me in tutelage, and at length proposed to me to cede my crown to him and the Earl of Argyll, and to set aside the Hamiltons, as I had Huntly: which induced me to think of consenting to marry, and thereby, if not to please all, at least honest people, Catholics, and those of my own name."[2]

It is evident that Moray visited the queen

[1] *Nau.* [2] Autograph, State Paper Office; *Labanoff.*

oftener than is recorded, when she was importuned in this manner, and could not get rid of him. One of his first acts on his appointment to the regency was to destroy all Mary's public and official seals which bore her name and titles. This arbitrary proceeding created great indignation.

In a letter from Elizabeth to Throgmorton, August 11th, she tells him that the more she enters into consideration of the rigorous and disloyal proceedings of the lords of Scotland against their sovereign lady, the more she is determined to relieve her and preserve her person. Throgmorton is therefore to return to Scotland to charge the lords to be otherwise advised of their doings, and to assure them, if they continue to use their sovereign in this manner, by keeping her a prisoner, or shall do anything that may touch her life or person, she will not fail to avenge it to the uttermost upon such as shall be guilty thereof. She entirely disapproved of the proceedings of the insurgents, and threatened to send an army to chasten them and relieve Mary. This speech may be regarded as a mere "flourish of the pen." She never had the remotest intention of giving effect to such sentiments. On the 16th of August she sent for Cecil, and requested to know why

nothing had been done to liberate the queen. Further, that she would declare war forthwith against the rebels. Cecil tried to dissuade her; adding—"the malice of her enemies would say that the queen's majesty used severity towards the lords to urge them to rid away the queen." This plausible speech appears to have prevailed, and it indicates how frivolous were Elizabeth's sentiments when on such a pretence she could drop so important a matter. Moray shortly after demanded the surrender of Edinburgh Castle, and it is alleged to have been given up by Sir James Balfour on the following terms—a pardon to Balfour for being accessory to Darnley's murder; a gift of the Priory of Pittenweem; a pension out of the Priory of St. Andrews to his son; £5000 in cash; and the governorship of the castle to be given to Kirkaldy of Grange. These terms, it is said, Moray accepted, but the statement requires confirmation.

On the 20th of August, Cecil wrote Throgmorton that Elizabeth refuses to receive an ambassador from the young King of Scots, unless Queen Mary is perfectly contented with it herself. Throgmorton, therefore, is to seek audience of Mary, and to tell Moray from Elizabeth that she will not recognize his acceptance

of the regency unless his sovereign consents to it without coercion. This attitude of Elizabeth was—

> "Like the snow-flake on the river,
> A moment white, then melts for ever."

We hear no more of it. Another meeting of the Privy Council was held on the 22nd of August, which confirmed Moray's appointment as regent on his signing a declaration, of which the following is a copy :—

I, James Earl of Moray, promise faithfully, in the presence of the Eternal God, that I during the whole course of my life shall serve the Eternal God to the utmost of my power according as He requires in His holy word revealed and contained in the Old and New Testaments, and according to the same word shall maintain the true religion of Jesus Christ, the preaching of His holy word, and the administration of His sacraments as now practised within this realm; and shall abolish and withstand all false religion contrary to this; and shall rule the people committed to my charge during the minority of the king my sovereign according to the will and command of God revealed in His foresaid word, and according to the loveable laws and constitution recognized within this realm not repugnant to the said word of the Eternal God. And shall procure to my utmost to the Kirk of God and all Christian people, true and perfect peace in all their coming; the rights and rents with all just privileges of the realm of Scotland I shall keep inviolate; neither will I transfer or alienate the same. I shall

forbid and repress in all estates and all degrees oppression and all kind of wrong. In all judgments I shall command and procure that justice and equity be meted out to all creatures without exception, as He is merciful to me and you, that is the Lord and Father of all mercies. And out of this realm of Scotland and Empire thereof I shall be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God that shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God of the foresaid crimes; and these things above written I faithfully affirm by this my solemn oath.

JAMES, *Regent.*

This, then, was the position Moray was determined to achieve, and he became Regent by murdering Darnley and betraying and dethroning the queen. The Privy Council minutes, of which we have given specimens, are unworthy of serious consideration.

The conspirators, in order that they should have the administration of the kingdom, knew that it was essential to make some explanation of their conduct, and the murder afforded them a reason. The treachery at Carberry Hill, and at Edinburgh, and the flight to Lochleven—these formed the first act of the drama. We shall see, as the narrative proceeds, how they accomplished their further designs, and how Elizabeth backed them up. As the due reward of their deeds,

scarcely one of them died a natural death. Moray and Lennox were assassinated, Morton and Kirkaldy beheaded, while Maitland and Atholl were poisoned. Ruthven was dying at the time he stabbed Riccio, and his son who succeeded him was a prominent enemy of Mary, and was executed for the Raid of Ruthven. His two sons were the Ruthvens of the Gowrie conspiracy. Of Lindsay little or nothing is known. In 1570, John Knox, who was also one of these conspirators, was struck down with apoplexy. Knox is believed to have been accessory to the murder of Darnley.

## CHAPTER VII.

How Mary beguiled the time at Lochleven—Her famous tapestry—The General Assembly and petition to Parliament for her release—Meeting of Privy Council to frame an answer—Resolution to accuse Mary of the murder—Meeting of Parliament when Herries objects to the coronation of James—The Casket Letters—Execution of Hay, Hepburn, Powrie, and Dalgleish—Moray sends Mary's jewels to Elizabeth—Her loan of £5000 to Moray, and terms of repayment—Resignation of Archbishop Beton—The escape from Lochleven.

MARY beguiled her time at Lochleven by the composition of devices for pictorial needle-work, in which she was an expert. Probably the most elaborate of her specimens is a tapestry, sewed in colour in the most artistic manner, embracing several historical scenes, carefully treasured at Dalmahoy, Midlothian. This beautiful piece of needlework has probably never been surpassed, and though upwards of three centuries old, is still in remarkable preservation.

About the 1st of December the General Assembly met, and expressed their resentment at the treatment of the queen. They got up a petition

to the regent and lords of Parliament, demanding the cause of her detention at Lochleven, and requesting that she should be immediately released. Moray called a meeting of Parliament on the 4th of December, in order to formulate an answer to this demand. Those present were Moray, Morton, Atholl, Mar, Glencairn, Ruthven, Home, Sanquhar, Sempill, and Ochiltree—all conspirators. They resolved to accuse the queen of the murder. The resolution, evidently drawn up by Moray, recited the cause and occasion of the taking of the queen's person on the 15th of June,[1] and holding and detaining her at Lochleven, and all other things done by them since the 10th of February last, the day King Henry was treasonably, shamefully, and horribly murdered; that the cause of the intromitting or disponing of her property or whatever belongs to her was in her own default as by divers her privy letters written wholly with her own hand,[2] and sent by her to Bothwell, chief executor of the said horrible murder: and by her ungodly and dishonourable proceeding to a pretended marriage with him suddenly and unadvisedly thereafter: it is most certain that she was privy art and part to the murder of the

[1] Carberry Hill. [2] Casket Letters.

king committed by Bothwell and his accomplices. She therefore justly deserves whatever has been done to her in the past or shall be done to her in the future. In the mean time a great part of the nobility perceiving the queen blindly affectionate to the private appetite of that tyrant, and that both he and she had conspired together to do such horrible cruelty, all noble and virtuous men abhorred their tyranny and company, but suspected that they who had treasonably put down and destroyed the father would make the innocent prince, his only son, sent by God to this afflicted nation, taste of the same cup.

In place of calling this an Act of Moray's Parliament, it might have been called an Act of the conspirators; for that is really what it was. It was another base effort to remove the charge of murder from their own shoulders to those of the queen by an infamous resolution, false from beginning to end, but having the *imprimatur* of a bogus parliament. This Act was signed by Morton, Maitland, and Balfour, and shows that these men were lost to all sense of morality.

Parliament met on the 15th of December, when Maitland announced the queen's abdication and voluntary demission of the crown to her son. Lord Herries stated that the coronation of the

Mrs. Cradock Poet.

infant prince was invalid, and, so far from being with her approval, was in direct opposition to her will, therefore he demanded that the queen should be brought before them in person to defend herself. Atholl and Tullibardine seconded this request, but, on a vote being taken, it was lost. The state of the vote and the names of those who voted we have not been able to discover. No evidence was attempted to be led to prove these statements, not even the evidence of her ladies who were always with her. That not one of them was interrogated regarding the queen and Bothwell, either before or after her husband's death, ought to convince every rational person of her innocence.[1] This Parliament passed an Act approving the resolution of the Parliament of the 4th of December, but, in referring to the letters, says, "they were wholly written by her own hand," the word "subscribed" being dropped without any reason being assigned. Whether they were in French or Scotch, or whether they were produced as originals or copies, we are nowhere informed.[2]

This Parliament also confirmed Moray's appointment as regent. It has been said by some writers that these men imprisoned the queen

[1] *Strickland.* [2] *Hosack.*

because of the proof of her guilt as contained in these letters. But the letters were intercepted on the 20th of June, whereas the queen was taken to Lochleven on the 17th of June, or three days before, so that the statement is without foundation.

These men afterwards declared in the most solemn manner, that the letters did not fall into their hands until she had been a prisoner for several days, so that the effect preceded the cause.[1]

Great dissatisfaction continued to be expressed that the murderers of Darnley were not being prosecuted, and, on the 3rd of January, to silence these rumours, there took place, at the instigation of Moray, the trial and execution of four men, supposed to have been accomplices, viz. John Hepburn, John Hay, William Powrie, and George Dalgleish. It will be remembered that four men had already been executed, viz. on the 27th of June previously. All these men exonerated the queen in their last words from having had anything to do with the murder. Hepburn, who was a domestic servant of Bothwell's, declared before all the people the innocence of the queen, protesting it before God and His angels, whom he called to witness what he said, and praying God that if he lied it might be to the

[1] *Hosack.*

eternal ruin and perdition of his soul. "I declare that Moray and Morton were the sole contrivers, movers, and counsellors of Bothwell in the commission of this murder." These men were tried and executed on the same day. That is to say, eight innocent men were by the murderers executed for Darnley's murder. They were merely instruments in the hands of Bothwell, obeying his orders, and carrying out the details. Their execution was deemed essential for the safety of the conspirators, as they would in all probability have turned queen's evidence, a result that would have ended in an insurrection, and very probably in the assassination of all the nobles known to have been connected with the crime. These executions were doubtless part of the scheme of the conspirators, which they bound themselves to carry out, and it is noticeable that any writings which we possess in the State Paper Office are cunningly written and very guarded, so as not to incriminate in any way the nobles who committed the deed.

On account of these proceedings Moray became very unpopular. He now wanted money, and he sent Elphinstone to London with a copy of an Act of Privy Council, which declared that Mary had murdered her husband. This Act was

evidently concocted by Moray and his companions. He also sent a portion of Mary's jewels as a present to Elizabeth; also a valuable set of pearls belonging to Mary, which he wanted Elizabeth to purchase. She took the lot, and paid him 12,000 crowns. This was a flagrant breach of trust or embezzlement, but it was not regarded as of much moment in those barbarous times. Elizabeth and Moray had several financial transactions, as Moray was constantly borrowing money from her during his regency. The following is an illustration of one of these transactions, being the official document lodged in the State Paper Office, providing for a loan of £5000, and giving terms of repayment :—

We, James, Earl of Moray, etc., regent of Scotland, do grant and confess by these presents to have received by the hands of our loving friend, John Themworth, Esq., of the Privy Chamber to her majesty Queen Elizabeth, the sum of £5000 sterling, sent to us in our great necessity, and most necessary service for the maintenance of peace betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, and to appease and withstand the attempts and enterprises of the common enemies and disturbers of the common quiet of both the said realms. For the which causes we bind and oblige us by the faith and truth in our body, thankfully to content and pay to the said most excellent princess the foresaid sum of £5000 in this

manner following, that is to say, £2500 at or before the 24th of June next, and immediately following the day and date thereof; and the other £2500 at or before the 1st of November next and immediately following, in complete payment of the foresaid sum of £5000, or to her majesty's factors and officers in her name, all fraud excluded. In witness thereof to this our obligation subscribed with our hand, our signature is affixed at Westminster the 18th of January, 1568.

JAMES, *Regent.*

This year James Beton, archbishop of Glasgow, resigned his office and went to France. He was archbishop for seventeen years. He was restored in 1598, but never returned to Scotland. This was an Act of the Convention of Estates, held at Holyrood, January 29, 1598.[1]

Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven created great excitement all over the kingdom, and, as soon as it became known that there was no intention of liberating her, her supporters met and considered the advisability of taking up arms on her behalf. It was believed the country was overwhelmingly in her favour, but while there was great enthusiasm displayed, and much animosity against Moray and his faction, Lords Herries and Seton fully recognized the gravity of the situation. They hesitated, and declined

[1] *Marwick.*

to take the field so soon after Carberry Hill, and the disaffection and want of courage of the queen's troops shown on that occasion. It is unfortunate that during Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven we have no record of her life. She certainly went out with Sir William Douglas frequently on boating excursions on the lake. Though she was a fluent letter-writer, there are few letters preserved as having been written here, so that really little or nothing is known of her life during these long, anxious, weary months, which began with her betrayal at Carberry Hill and ended with her escape the following May—eleven months. The following letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow belongs to this period:—

Your brother will tell you of my miserable condition, and I beseech you to present him and his letters, interceding as far as you can in my favour. He will tell you more, for I have neither paper nor time to write further, only to pray the king and queen and my uncle to burn my letters, for if it was known that I had written it will lose the life of many, and put my own in jeopardy, and make me be guarded more strictly. God have you in His care, and give me patience.

MARIE R. (now prisoner).

George Douglas, the laird's brother, was friendly to the queen, and resented the treatment

she was receiving. He carried letters for her, and, being discovered, he was, by Moray's orders, dismissed from the castle. He took up his quarters in the inn at Kinross, and resolved that, be the consequences what they might, he would effect the queen's escape. He was a Scotsman of the right type. It is recorded at this period that she was harshly treated, and that everything was kept from her. She was deprived of paper and ink, with the view of stopping her correspondence. But she made ink with soot and water, and is alleged to have used her handkerchiefs for paper. George Douglas had several schemes for effecting her release. It would appear that Lady Douglas employed a laundress in Kinross to do the queen's laundry work. She came and returned daily. It was arranged that the queen should dress herself in the garments of this woman, and escape in the boat used to row her across. On the 25th of March the queen did so, drew a muffler over her face, and, taking a bundle under her arm, passed out of the castle unsuspected, and stepped into the boat which was waiting. The boatmen immediately pulled off, and, when halfway across, they became suspicious, and one of them said, lifting her veil, "Let us see what sort of dame this is." Mary put up her delicate hands to defend herself,

and they at once knew who she was. In place of coaxing them to row her across, she peremptorily ordered them to do so at the peril of their lives. They paid no attention, but simply turned back; and so this scheme failed.

From all accounts Sir William Douglas was a reasonable man, and of an unobtrusive disposition. He would appear to have overlooked this attempt at escape. At any rate he did not make any difference in her treatment. George Douglas, true to his undertaking, spent his whole time in watching her movements, and a plan was actually formed by him for securing her escape on one of her boating excursions.[1] The queen was to induce Sir William to land on St. Serfs Island for the purpose of hawking. Douglas and his accomplices were to secrete themselves in the ruins of the monastery; at a favourable moment they were to rush out and overwhelm Sir William and his boatmen, and carry off the queen. The plan, however, did not go on. Lady Douglas is said to have frequently urged the queen to abandon any attempt to escape, as, if successful, it would lead to the ruin of the Douglas family, whereas, if she would wait, Moray might be reconciled. Mary, however, while she made no secret of her

[1] *Burns Begg.*

contemplated liberation, stated that, so long as she was detained against her will and unjustly, she would do her best to escape. It was a common subject of conversation at Lochleven, and it is recorded that, on one occasion, when Sir William Douglas and she landed at the castle after one of their boating excursions, they found the servants actually amusing themselves with a pretended assault on the castle for the purpose of releasing the queen. George Douglas, when all this was going on, came over from Kinross and intimated to his mother and brother his intention of leaving the country and going to France. He had no such intention, but it gave him an excuse for visiting the castle, notwithstanding the prohibition of Moray. There was only one gate or entrance to the courtyard, and the key of this gate was indispensable for the purpose in hand. During the day the gate stood unlocked, but was closed daily at 7 p.m., when the family sat down to supper, and the key was placed on the table at Sir William's right hand. The supper hour was therefore fixed by George Douglas as the best time for carrying out the scheme for the queen's release, and specially as the warders were then off duty for half an hour. He succeeded in inducing his brother, the laird, to reinstate Willie Douglas

in his position in the household. On the 1st of May, Mary wrote to Elizabeth about the ring that was a pledge between them :—

It may please you to remember that you have told me several times that on receiving that ring you gave me you would assist me in any time of trouble. You know that Moray has seized all I have, and those who had the keeping of some of those things have been ordered not to deliver any of them to me. Robert Melville, to whom I have often secretly sent for this ring, says "he dare not let me have it." Therefore I implore you, on receiving this letter, to have compassion on your good sister and cousin. You should also consider the importance of the example practised against me, not only to sovereigns, but to those of lower degree.

MARIE R.

The object of this letter is pretty clear. She anticipates her escape from Lochleven, and is anxious to secure Elizabeth's confidence and friendship, and is careful to point out to her how the ring, that was the talisman between them, had been seized and was irrecoverable. But even if she had got the ring there is no reason to suppose that it would have moved the heart of Elizabeth any more than this letter. This ring was afterwards discovered, for, after Langside, Lord Herries was sent into England as the bearer of it, with a frantic appeal for Elizabeth's protection. Lady

Douglas now went to Kinross to see her son before he went to France. Little did she think that he had a very different object in view, but he never disabused her mind, and they took farewell of each other. He sent by her an ear-ring to the queen, explaining that one of the boatmen had found it and wanted to sell it, but, as he knew it was the queen's, he took possession of it. Well did the queen know the secret intelligence conveyed by this ear-ring, viz. that it indicated that George Douglas's plan for her escape was all but ready. The scheme was a well-organized one. John Beton had gone to arrange details with Lord Seton, and notice had been sent to the queen's principal supporters to hold themselves in readiness. Lord Seton, with fifty mounted followers, crossed the Forth that morning, Sunday, the 2nd of May, in order to secrete themselves in the neighbourhood till the time of escape arrived, and then form a bodyguard to the queen the moment she landed.

Sir William Douglas of Lochleven had seven sisters, who, from their stature and elegance, were called the "seven fair porches of Lochleven." The mother of these, Lady Douglas, was also the mother of the regent Moray; while the father of Moray and Queen Mary was James V. Lochleven

Castle and the New House of Lochleven were distinct residences occupied by the Douglases. The latter is not on the castle island, but on the mainland, at least a mile distant, and approached from the castle by sailing-boat only. Douglas's seven sisters, one of whom was married to Lindsay, lived at the new house, so that they would not come much into communication with the queen; but Sir William Douglas had a daughter and niece who slept night about in the queen's bedroom, so as to watch her movements. There was also a man named Drysdale in Sir William's household, who was an enemy of the queen, and reported everything against her. She sent this man to Edinburgh with a gift of money to himself in the shape of a draft on the State Treasurer, thinking she would thus get him out of the way; but, unfortunately, he returned on the very evening of the escape. The queen with her two attendants and Sir William's daughter and niece were the sole occupants of the queen's apartments. The queen, after supper, went into a room above her own, which was occupied by her surgeon. Here she put on a hood as worn by the country women of the district, and she already had on a skirt belonging to Mary Seton, one of her attendants. Jane Kennedy, who was to accompany

her, she desired to dress in the same manner. The other attendant, Marie Courcelles, had been left in the room below with the daughter and niece, to engage their attention and to prevent their following the queen. Meanwhile the laird sat down to supper, and Queen Mary's medical attendant, who, it is said, was a guest that evening, and who knew all that was going on, undertook to divert the laird's attention by a constant flow of conversation. Willie Douglas, who waited at table and served the laird, was very sharp in his movements. While changing the laird's plate he contrived to drop his napkin over the keys, which were five in number, held together with an iron chain, cleverly enveloping them in the folds of the cloth as he carried them off. The queen was ready to escape at once on a signal from Willie Douglas. The moment he got the keys he left the room, and signalled to the queen's attendant, who was on the watch at one of the upper windows, that the important moment had arrived. The queen and her attendant instantly descended the spiral stair in the south-east corner of the tower, until she reached the corridor adjoining the dining-hall; then swiftly passing along the corridor, and past the very door of the apartment where Sir William was at supper, she reached the entrance

doorway of the tower, and, passing down the steps, got into the courtyard. The foundations of the stair are still visible. Willie Douglas had by this time unlocked the gate, and was waiting. No sooner had the queen and her attendant entered the boat, than she seized one of the oars, and rowed all the way across. Jane Kennedy was to have accompanied her, but, on account of the quickness of these movements at this exicting moment, the castle gates were shut before she arrived at the spot. It is stated that she leaped from a window, got into the lake, and, striking out, swam stoutly after the boat till she overtook it and was enthusiastically received in her dripping garments. We have some doubts as to the accuracy of this. Willie Douglas, after locking the postern gate, threw the keys into the loch. They were discovered about a century ago, and are now in the possession of the Earl of Morton at Dalmahoy House.

Benarty, where Lord Seton and John Beton were secreted with their men, is about half an hour's drive from Kinross. Beton and his followers rode into Kinross to see George Douglas. The intention was that Beton and Douglas would go out in a boat and meet the queen, but they could not disclose that to the landlord. At supper, Beton stated

that he was suffering from headache, and suggested that they should go out for an airing on the lake. Starting at the right time, they were not long on the water when the queen's boat hove in sight, and immediately they observed the queen's signal. What an exciting moment for all concerned! Both men hurried on to the new house of Lochleven, where they saddled two of the best horses in the laird's stable, standing close to the shore, and led them down to a pier quite adjacent to the house. At this pier George Douglas and Beton received the queen, who landed here from her boat. The tears of joy were streaming down her face. She refused to proceed till she saw her deliverer, Willie Douglas, also safely on horseback.[1]

Lord Seton and his horsemen received her with open arms, and were enthusiastic in their reception of her. They rode five miles, then took boats and crossed the Forth to South Queensferry. Here the queen was met by Lord Claude Hamilton, at the head of fifty horsemen, all Hamiltons who were determined to avenge

[1] George Douglas at his death, it is said, left one only child, a daughter, who married Lord Dalhousie, and thus became the direct ancestor of one of our old Scottish families. Sir William Douglas of Lochleven, on the execution of Morton and the death of Morton's nephew, the Earl of Angus, succeeded to the earldom of Morton.

the queen's wrongs. From there Lord Seton conducted her to his Castle of West Niddry, where she remained for the night. Next morning, May 4th, she went to Hamilton, where she got a great reception from Archbishop Hamilton, and the principal nobles and gentlemen of the district. This was John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, who afterwards was seized at Dumbarton Castle, and executed at Stirling in 1571, by order of Lennox the regent. As showing the deliberate arrangements which had been made for her escape, the Hamiltons, Argyll, Cassillis, Herries, Eglinton, Livingstone and Fleming had an armed force of six thousand in waiting for her. This force, as the sequel shows, was very inferior in its composition and inefficiently officered, otherwise it would without much difficulty have overpowered the conspirators.

Mary sent a message to Moray to resign the regency, and a pardon would be granted; but he vouchsafed no answer. The queen thereupon called a council of her nobles, and declared that her subscription of the abdication papers was the effect of force and terror. Sir Robert Melville confirmed this, and the council pronounced them to be void and of no authority. The coronation of her son and the regency of Moray were set

aside as usurpations. Sir Robert Melville brought with him the famous ring she got from Elizabeth, to which Elizabeth played false and commanded Melville not to give it up. On the 3rd of May, the Privy Council met: sederunt—Moray, Morton, Glencairn, Mar, Sempill, Master of Graham, Dunfermline and Balmerino. An Act was passed reciting the escape of Queen Mary from Lochleven, and her repair to Hamilton, where the king's subjects repaired towards her, for what purpose was uncertain; and ordaining his majesty's lieges to come prepared for war to the lord regent at Glasgow, for preservation of the king's person and authority, and establishing justice and quietness within the realm.[1]

[1] *Marwick.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

### Battle of Langside and Flight into England.

MAITLAND long after acknowledged that, after they put the queen into Lochleven, the country did not support them as they had expected. "Never ane came more to us than we were at Carberry Hill." He declared they were at their wit's end, and contrived the setting up of the young prince as king just as a blind to get them out of the scrape, without any security that it was to last.[1] This is a statement of great importance, and is so clear and intelligible that it can mislead no one. The extraordinary thing is, that when Maitland and his companions discovered their true position they did not at once abandon their persecution of the queen. The conspirators, including Maitland, paid a heavy penalty for their subsequent conduct. The large following who met the queen at Hamilton was a strong proof of

[1] *McNeel Caird.*

her popularity and of the general sympathy prevailing in her cause. It would appear from the best authorities that Moray could only raise four thousand troops, so that Mary's forces considerably outnumbered his. But at this point the Hamiltons committed a grave blunder, which shortly after caused their defeat at Langside. They were determined enemies of Moray, and, having now the queen at the head of their forces, they were bent on crushing Moray as soon as possible. They knew Huntly was marching from the north with a large following to join the royal troops at Hamilton. But they would not wait, and Mary, against her better judgment, was induced by them to go on to Langside, and give battle to the regent. The folly of this proceeding was inexcusable. The battle of Langside showed that, as regards the queen's troops, there was not a capable officer amongst her supporters.

Argyll commanded the royal troops—an injudicious appointment, as he was not a true friend of the queen, as his wife was. He manifested great want of courage and military skill, while it is stated that in the midst of the engagement he was seized with an epileptic fit; but he was evidently indifferent as to the result of the battle.[1]

[1] Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll, having no children by either

Lord Claude Hamilton, the most capable soldier of the Hamiltons, led the van. The cavalry were under Lord Herries. He made a vigorous attack on Moray's cavalry, and put them to rout, but he was not supported. Kirkaldy was practically the cause of the defeat of Mary's forces. He posted his men in the orchards and gardens, and on either side of a long narrow lane with high hedges, so cunningly that they were able to shoot down a vast number of the queen's troops as they passed along, while they themselves did not lose a man. At the end of the lane, still shown at Langside, Morton and his men completed the massacre. As showing the wholesale treachery that prevailed, Mary's plan of campaign for surrounding and capturing the rebel army was communicated to Moray by one of her troops who joined her at Hamilton, and who turned out to be a spy of Moray's. The latter was not slow to take advantage of this, for he immediately took possession of the eminence above the village of Langside. At this crisis Mary is reported to have ridden into the battle to encourage her

of his wives, was at his death, in 1575, succeeded by his brother Colin as sixth earl. The latter married, first, a daughter of Lord Methven, by whom he had no children, and, secondly, the widow of the Regent Moray, by whom he had two sons, the elder of whom, Archibald, became seventh earl. Colin died in 1584.

troops, and would fain have led the charge in person, but she found them quarrelling among themselves and more inclined to exchange blows with each other than to attack the rebels. Moray rejected every effort for an amicable settlement, and was determined to fight to the death to gain his object. The Hamiltons suffered severely, and Mary had to bewail the loss of many gallant friends. Lord Seton, unfortunately, was taken prisoner. Brought into Moray's presence, he said that—

"he had given his fidelity to one prince, and that he would keep it as long as he lived, or until the queen had laid down her right of government of her own free will and accord."

Moray asked him what he thought his punishment should be, and threatened death. Said Lord Seton—

"Let others decide what I deserve: on that point my conscience gives me no trouble, and I am well aware that I have been brought within your power, and am subject to your will. But I would have you know that, even if you cut off my head, as soon as I die there will be another Lord Seton."[1]

This was a courageous speech in trying circumstances, but in keeping with Lord Seton's

[1] *Nau.*

independent and fearless character. It has been said of this disaster, that if Mary had had a number of faithful and disciplined officers, and especially if she had waited for Huntly and his contingent, the engagement would have gone against Moray. It has also been said that Mary should not have fled, seeing her supporters were more numerous than those of Moray, and that the powerful Border families, such as the Scotts, Kerrs, and Maxwells, were on her side, while she had Huntly and the north of Scotland, and her troops held Dumbarton Castle. But why did these supporters not fight for her after she had fled? Their not doing so cannot be explained. If three hundred of her troops were killed at Langside, that was not a serious loss, seeing they were in a thoroughly disorganized condition, with no capable officers to direct their movements. The defection of Kirkaldy was a great loss to her. Though a brave soldier, he was not a man with the determination of character of Moray or Morton. After the treachery at Carberry Hill, of which Kirkaldy was well aware, it does not say much for him that he fought against the queen at Langside.

Looking to the course of events, the escape from Lochleven, so successfully accomplished,

and the unfortunate result of Langside, we are bound to admit that the nobles who supported the queen showed great indecision and want of energy. In place of besieging Lochleven Castle, and relieving her by force of arms, they waited till two young men hatched a plot, released her, and handed her over to them; and even that being done, what an exhibition did they make at Langside! It is manifest from the history of this period that military training in Scotland, as well as military valour, was at a low ebb. The queen was entitled to expect more efficient support. Probably this was rankling in her mind when she resolved at Langside to escape into England. That escape was the snare of the fowler, as it turned out—the most fatal blunder of her life. An anonymous letter referring to the escape was written at this date, May 9, 1568, by some of Moray's friends in Edinburgh, and presumably to Cecil. The incorrect statements are conspicuous—

"On the 2nd of May a servant at Lochleven privily stole the keys at supper, and passed and received the king's mother forth of her chamber, and conveyed her to the boat. He locked the gates behind him, and spoiled the rest of the boats of their furniture, so that no one was able to follow them. When they landed, George

Douglas, brother to the laird, who was in love with her, met her at the loch side, accompanied with the laird of Ricarby (Beton), a friend of Bothwell's, and with them in company ten horse. They took away all the horses belonging to the laird of Lochleven, so that he should not be able to follow. Within two miles or thereby Lord Seton and James Hamilton of Ormiston met her, with thirty horse. With this company they came to the ferry beyond, and passed the same. Claud Hamilton, second son of the Duke, met her there, and with him twenty horse, and conveyed her to Lord Seton's house of Niddry. Lord Herries met her, accompanied with thirty horse, and all together proceeded to Hamilton, where she now remains, accompanied with all such as were movers of this conspiracy, which are not a great number. The principals of that faction are the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Hamiltons, Herries, and Seton. Further, they have drawn unto them Eglinton and Fleming, with some mean gentlemen friends of Bothwell, that would gladly be quit of the matter. Their force is not great, and very badly officered. They intend to have all their force about Monday or Tuesday together in Hamilton. They cannot agree who shall be lieutenant, because it is laid to sundry of their charges and refused. Moray's force will be ready against that day, which will exceed their number very far, and likewise in capability of men. After Wednesday the regent takes the field. It is supposed the other party dare not abide the matter, but will steal away, and do what they can to put the king's mother in Dumbarton if possible. I think it will not be possible for them to do so. Within seven days

I believe this matter will be at an end. For the nobility of Scotland is already with the regent, saving the few already named, who are together neither of great foresight nor force. Your servant has sent his writings to Glasgow; he remains here for his answer. In the mean time, if anything occurs you shall be advertised. From Edinburgh this 9th of May, 1568.

"Yours always lawfully to command."

Accompanied by Lord Herries, the queen and a few devoted attendants to the number of sixteen rode off the field when they saw the fortunes of the day against them. The queen was terrified to remain in Scotland, for, in reply to Herries, who wished her to remain, she said, "It was impossible for her to remain in any part of her realm, not knowing whom to trust." That remark was natural, considering all the treatment she had received. This decision has been much commented on. She was warranted in thinking she was not safe if she remained longer in Scotland. It had afforded her nothing but misery; her court was composed of traitors, and would continue to be so so long as Moray, Morton, Lindsay, and Maitland were there. Her friends, finding they could not get her to remain in Scotland, very nobly determined to share her misfortunes and accompany her wherever she might go. Lord

Herries took them into Galloway by circuitous routes, as they were pursued by Moray's troops, and but for his knowledge of the country and his selection of unfrequented passes, she would in all probability have been captured. Her first refreshment was at Queenshill, Kirkcudbright, so named in memory of this incident. On May 15th she slept at Lord Herries's residence of Terregles, and the following night at Dundrennan Abbey. At this point Mary's impulsive nature was fatal to her welfare. She would go into England and get protection from Elizabeth. Considering her experience of Elizabeth this resolution was extraordinary. It is recorded[1] that, after Langside, Moray's unpopularity was notorious—

"His severity and the terrors of an approaching Parliament had so estranged his supporters and united his enemies, that he began to be alarmed, not only for his Government, but for his life. A conspiracy for his assassination was discovered, at the head of which were Murray of Tullibardine and his brother."

There is at Terregles an interesting souvenir of Queen Mary—the remains of the bed occupied by her in her visits there, and which the tradition of the Maxwell family especially associates with

[1] *Tytler.*

the last night spent by her under their roof, May 15th. These consist of a wooden scroll, eight feet long and one foot broad; a flat cloth roof or canopy, which must originally have been supported by a timber frame-work; and a head-piece, measuring six feet by five feet, which must have hung from the roof inside till it touched the pillow which was pressed on that sorrowful night by the head of the royal fugitive. The stuff is of serge, padded with wool, still white and fresh, and covered outside with satin that was once white, but is no longer so, and very lavishly embroidered with needlework — the design, a graceful-looking floral one, which, under happier circumstances, must have looked charming in the eyes of the fair occupant of the couch. A small missal is also to be seen at Terregles which belonged to Queen Mary. Of all her hapless adherents none were more faithful, and few were more conspicuous, than Sir John Maxwell of Terregles, because of his marriage with Lady Agnes, eldest daughter of William Lord Herries; called also the Master of Maxwell, because he was the nearest male heir of Sir John, son of Robert, fifth Lord Maxwell, best known in history as Lord Herries. In right of his marriage he became possessed of one-third of Terregles and

Kirkgunzion, and he subsequently acquired the other portions of those baronies which had belonged to the sisters of his wife.

The queen and her devoted little band crossed the Solway in a small fishing-boat, and in four hours arrived at Workington. They were escorted to Workington Hall by Sir Henry Curwen, the proprietor. Here they were hospitably received, and the queen and her ladies were provided with change of raiment and other requirements by their generous host and his lady. At dinner the queen proposed "luck to Workington" in her own interesting and genial way, and the "quaigh" she drank from is still preserved there as a precious and priceless heirloom. There is also preserved the portrait of the queen which she presented to Sir Henry and Lady Curwen, and which is reproduced in this work. (The Workington Portrait.) She remained with them only one night.

The Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Warden, communicated the queen's arrival to the Council at York, and that body instructed the high sheriff "to use the Scottish queen and her company honourably, but to see that not one of them escaped." No doubt this was a command from Elizabeth, and, from the attitude of

Northumberland, it is evident that he resented such a proceeding as the restraint of the queen. In this he was supported by the nobility and gentry, the knights and squires in the north of England. Mary wrote Elizabeth from Workington detailing the treasonable proceedings of her subjects against herself, the murder of Riccio, the compulsory resignation of the crown, her captivity and escape, her defeat and flight into England, explaining also her pitiable condition, and appealing to her for protection and succour.[1]

It is evident that Northumberland and Sir Richard Lowther, the high sheriff, had a squabble as to which of them should have the distinguished honour of the custody of the young queen. Lowther wrote Cecil, May 17th, from Cockermouth, that "he intends to take her to Carlisle Castle to-morrow." The following day Northumberland wrote direct to Elizabeth, that he has given orders for her entertainment till he knows her majesty's pleasure.[2] On the same day Mary set out with her retinue for the little town of Cockermouth, six miles distant. She was received there by the entire inhabitants with great enthusiasm.

[1] The original of this letter, which has been already published, is in the Cotton collection.

[2] State Paper Office.

She stayed at Cockermouth Hall, the residence of Henry Fletcher, a wealthy merchant. That place is now partially in ruins, but there are three apartments still called Queen Mary's rooms. A visitor [1] writes—

"On entering the last room the good woman of the house said to me, 'This was Queen Mary's bed-chamber, but she did not sleep here, for the poor lady was in fear of her life, and passed the night in this closet,' opening the door of a recess partly built up."

Fletcher was very kind and generous to Queen Mary, and, amongst other things, presented her with thirteen yards of crimson velvet, to make a robe, as he observed she was very poorly clad. In the presence of her beauty, her rank, and her misfortunes, he probably felt as Brantome afterwards wrote: "No man ever saw her without love, or will read her history without pity."

Next day Henry Fletcher accompanied the high sheriff, with a cavalcade of gentry and a large following of people, to escort the queen to Carlisle. It is said that the queen was so touched with Fletcher's kindness and consideration that she afterwards wrote him a letter with her own hand, thanking him for it. King James VI. bestowed the honour of knighthood on Fletcher's

[1] *Strickland.*

grandson, for this noble act of kindness to his mother.[1]

The Privy Council met at Glasgow on the

[1] Henry Fletcher died in 1573, or five years after the queen's visit, leaving, besides other children, three sons, William, Lancelot, and Thomas. The latter married Jane Bullen, or Boleyn, said to have been nearly related to Anne Boleyn, wife of Henry VIII. He had two sons by her, Richard and Philip; the former, as already stated, was knighted by James I. It would appear that there are now four branches of the Fletcher family sprung from Henry Fletcher, of Cockermouth Hall. They have been quite a distinguished family all through these centuries, both in civil and military matters. Cockermouth Hall was sold some generations ago by Sir Frederick Fletcher Vane, and is now surrounded with buildings, part of the town of Cockermouth. The historical residence where Queen Mary spent the night has been converted into a tavern and one or two small shops, and it is matter of regret that it was allowed to go out of the family. The Hall consisted of a large quadrangular block, fronting the south, with a wing at each end, the building thus enclosing three sides of a spacious courtyard. There was a tower in front. None of the original oak flooring is left, except in a portion of the queen's rooms.

One of Fletcher's descendants in the eighteenth century, had seven sons, five of whom were military men of considerable distinction. On the siege of Quebec, in 1759, Playford writes of these men: "Thus fell in the service of their country five brothers, who were all officers of the rank of captain—of graceful person, high spirits, and great enterprise, the hope of their parents and friends, and justly esteemed by all who knew them." The sixth brother, Henry Fletcher, became chairman of the directors of the East India Company, and received a baronetcy. He afterwards successfully contested the county of Cumberland, and represented that county in Parliament for thirty-eight years. He died in 1807, and has been succeeded by three other Sir Henrys in lineal succession. The present baronet is M.P. for Lewes. We are indebted for some of these particulars to Mr. William Fletcher, of Brigham Hall, whose death we regret to record since these notes were passing through the press.

16th of May, and issued a proclamation which, after stating that Almighty God by His power had confounded the force and policy of the adversaries, says—

"The regent means to take the field with his majesty's banner to reduce the obstinate and rebellious factions to obedience, that the king's person may be safe and his kingdom restored to quietness; ordains that all persons, well equipped for war, with fifteen days' provisions, and covers to lie in the fields, meet the regent at Biggar on the 10th of June; thence to pass forward as they shall be commanded for the preservation and defence of the regent and his authority, or pursuit of the rebellious faction."

This proclamation was issued immediately after the defeat of the queen's troops at Langside, and the queen being now out of the country and in captivity, Moray had full scope to do what he liked. And he exercised what power he possessed with great determination, and eventually compelled submission everywhere to his authority. In the north of England the utmost excitement prevailed on account of Mary's unexpected arrival at Carlisle.

On May 22nd Lowther again wrote Cecil about Northumberland's conduct, stating his refusal to deliver the queen over to his custody.

This was followed by instructions from Elizabeth, ordering Northumberland not to meddle further with Queen Mary's removal. On arrival at Carlisle, Lowther, by Cecil's orders, lodged the queen in the castle there. Mary's followers resented this, but it was in vain. Northumberland called for her three days after, and proposed to take her under his own charge, as he was much attached to her, but Lowther would not allow him, and he denounced Lowther as unworthy to have charge of the Scottish queen. Mary had a lively time of it here, for she had daily visits from the neighbouring gentry. She was also joined by more friends from Scotland, such as Bishop Lesley, and the Flemings and Livingstones. Sir Richard Lowther incurred the wrath of Elizabeth by allowing Norfolk to visit Mary, for which he was heavily fined and superseded. One would think this fault a very small one, and unworthy of notice, but Elizabeth was jealous, and believed Norfolk would fall in love with Mary, to her own neglect. In that she conjectured rightly. Lowther was glad to retire, and two of Elizabeth's Privy Councillors were appointed in his place—Lord Scrope, Norfolk's brother-in-law, and Sir Francis Knollys. These two men were to report everything Mary said and did; but they resolved

to exercise their own discretion, and they certainly acted very independently, and showed no sympathy for Elizabeth's arbitrary behaviour.

On the day they were to arrive from London, Lord Herries rode out six miles from Carlisle to meet them. He pointed out the cruelty Mary had suffered, the persecution from her enemies, his assurance of her innocence of Darnley's murder, and his desire that she should be allowed an opportunity of discussing matters with Elizabeth. He further requested assistance from Elizabeth to help Mary to crush her enemies, or alternatively a free permit through her dominions to France. This courageous speech was in vain, and was met by a prompt refusal. On their arrival at Carlisle, Mary in passionate terms put her case before them, denounced the unreasonable attitude of Elizabeth, and accused Morton and Maitland of being accessory to Darnley's murder. Knollys was convinced of Mary's integrity, and wrote his mistress to allow her to return to Scotland, or at least to release her ; but the request was refused. Mary then resolved to send Lord Herries direct to London, and, on the 28th of May, wrote Elizabeth to that effect. Mary had already informed her of her destitute condition, and requested some clothing. Instead of

acting with that generosity which might have been expected, she insulted Mary by sending her such a selection from her own wardrobe as Scrope and Knollys were ashamed of delivering. Mary controlled her feelings when the ungracious offering was produced, and turned away in silence.[1] At this period Mary Seton was the person in closest attendance on the queen, and a devoted companion she was. She dressed the queen's hair daily, each day in a different manner, and she was a great expert at this. The queen wore false hair in addition to her own, and presumably this accounts for the difference of opinion regarding its colour.

Mary wrote a sharp letter to Elizabeth, stating why it was necessary to see her, and added—

"Excuse me if I speak as plainly to you as you do to me. You received a bastard brother of mine to your presence, when he fled from me, and me you refuse to receive. It is the resource of a bad cause to close the lips of an opponent. The rebels and I are not companions in anything, and were I to be kept here ever so long I would prefer death to putting myself on an equality with the like."

It is impossible not to admire the eloquence

[1] *Strickland.*

and force of this dignified and unanswerable letter. Elizabeth must have felt the reference to the bastard brother so bitter that she could not reply to it. But her conduct warranted this rebuke.

On June 8th Elizabeth wrote Mary that she had heard of her desire to justify herself in her presence in respect of the things alleged against her.

"There is no creature living who can more willingly open her ears to such a declaration or shall acquit her honour, but she (Elizabeth) cannot neglect her own proper reputation. If she thinks it strange that an interview is not permitted, she must make a metamorphose of these two persons, and then she will see that her reception cannot be permitted before her justification; but when she is cleared of the crime, to see her will among all mundane joys hold the first rank."

The buffoonery of this letter is apparent. Elizabeth had no jurisdiction over the Scottish Queen, and she was committing a crime by imprisoning her. Mary deeply regretted having gone into England, as we find fully stated in a despatch dated June 11th, Knollys to the Privy Council, and her eager desire to escape is not to be wondered at.

## CHAPTER IX.

Wood's intercepted letters, and Elizabeth's treachery—Elizabeth threatened by Mary's supporters, and Mary's forces take the field—Mary injudiciously authorizes their dispersion—Moray required to defend himself before Elizabeth—Lord Herries proceeds to London on Mary's behalf—Mary removed to Bolton Castle—Sir Richard Lowther's hospitality—Knollys denounces Mary's treatment—Herries's return with Elizabeth's quondam conditions for Mary's release—Mary agrees to a conference to try her case—Moray confesses to having received from Morton the silver casket and enclosures—The Privy Council minute on the subject—Moray's indictment against Mary—The York and Westminster conferences—Official report—Report that Mary had become a Protestant—Her letter to the Pope concerning it—Letter, Elizabeth to Knollys.

On the 21st of June Mary wrote to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, a letter which Labanoff has reproduced. It is a long, pathetic letter, and describes her sufferings at this painful crisis of her life. She adds—

"Send me some money, for I have not wherewithal to buy either bread, or chemise, or a gown. The queen has sent me a small supply of linen and plate, and I have borrowed some, but I shall not be able to so do any more. You are involved in this humiliation. God has tried me sorely, but at least assure yourself that I shall die a Catholic. May God remove me from these miseries

shortly: for I have suffered injuries, calumnies, prisons, hunger, cold, flying without knowing whither to go, four score and twelve miles across the country without stopping or alighting, and then lay on the cold ground, drank sour milk, my only food oatmeal, without bread, passing three nights like the owls on my way to this country, where for my recompense I am little better than a prisoner."

This indicates as clearly as words can express the desolate and heart-rending condition of Mary —the result of Elizabeth's conduct.

It is recorded that Mary's friends intercepted a packet of letters carried by John Wood, Moray's secretary, which disclosed the treacherous part taken against her by the English Government. From a letter in the possession of Lord Salisbury, and printed by Labanoff, it would appear that Mary promptly wrote in the following terms to Elizabeth :—

"They assure him that I shall be sufficiently guarded never to return to Scotland. Madam, if this be honourable treatment of her who came to throw herself into your arms for succour, I leave other princes to judge. I neither can nor will believe that it is you who are acting treacherously by me, but that the villain John Wood lies, as all of his profession will."

Elizabeth made Wood appear before Lord Herries in her presence to explain the intercepted

letters, which Herries now produced. Wood acknowledged that he had invented them to strengthen Moray's cause. As a proof of Elizabeth's treachery, she did not even answer Wood, but passed the matter over, and manifested greater confidence in him than ever.

Mary's liberty at Carlisle was gradually restrained. Only three of her ladies were allowed to sleep in the castle with her, and none of her servants were allowed to remain within the gates overnight. At this time Lesley, bishop of Ross, seems to have left her for a temporary period, and on her request for an English priest to take his place, she was refused, and was required to walk to the cathedral, guarded by a hundred soldiers. The cathedral at Carlisle was at that time, as it still is, one of the largest and most ornate in the English provinces. Though it has twice been mutilated by fire, it is still the same building where Queen Mary worshipped. Mary's supporters pressed Elizabeth as to her restoration, and pointed out the danger of detaining her in captivity, and threatened to put the matter before the councils of Europe if she was not released. To this no answer was given, but Elizabeth put herself in communication with Moray, and it was agreed to summon a Parliament in order

to arrive at the sentiments of the people. Mary's supporters believed Moray was hostile and meant harm, and they collected their forces and took the field. This army would have annihilated Moray and all his faction, and restored Mary to her throne; but Elizabeth wrote to Mary one of her beguiling letters, full of hypocrisy, beseeching her to order the Scottish army to be disbanded as being unnecessary, and professing great friendship for her. It seems incredible that Mary did not see this hypocrisy, but allowed herself to believe in this pretended sincerity, and actually ordered her nobles to disband their forces. This was another of her fatal blunders while she was within measurable distance of her release, and, though—

> "There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune,"

yet, in an evil moment for herself, she lost this golden opportunity.

Elizabeth summoned Moray to London to defend himself for the part he had taken against his sovereign. If he refused, she reminded him that she would instantly liberate the Scottish queen. This was too much for Moray. He repaired to London, taking Maitland and some

others with him. That the detention of Mary was a political blunder admits of no doubt, and if Elizabeth would not give her aid, nor permit her to come to her presence, nor be restored, it indicates her determination to take the life of the Scottish queen, or keep her in perpetual imprisonment. So gross a breach of faith in decoying Mary to rush into the snare laid for her is, the historian[1] says, a deed so black in every circumstance attending it, and lays open a heart so void of every principle of honour and humanity, as calls for the clearest evidence to support it. It is well for mankind, says another,[2] that acts of national injustice should rarely pass unpunished, and never did a political crime entail a heavier measure of retribution than the captivity and murder of the Queen of Scots. Lord Herries, as we have stated, had gone to London to get an audience of Elizabeth to advocate Mary's cause, and had been detained by her procrastination. Mary got very nervous about it, and wrote to ascertain if he was a prisoner, and Elizabeth said no. Herries was to request her not to receive, at Dumbarton, assistance from France; to which Mary promptly replied that, if Elizabeth did not assist her against the rebels,

[1] *Tytler.* [2] *Hosack.*

she reserved full power to get help wherever it was possible to do so. Elizabeth now resolved that the time had arrived for transferring the Queen of Scots to Bolton. Mary received the order with indignation, and refused to go, but was compelled to give way.

On the 13th of July she reluctantly left Carlisle for Bolton, with an armed escort, accompanied by as many of her devoted friends as were allowed to go. There were twenty carriage horses and twenty-three saddle horses for the ladies and gentlemen of her suite. The first night she slept at Lowther Castle, the residence of Sir Richard Lowther. Here she spent a joyful day amid the unassuming and unstinted hospitality and attention of the generous proprietor, his wife, mother, and sisters. Queen Mary left them next morning with much reluctance, and showing visible signs of emotion. Lord Lonsdale is the present representative of that noble house, and this touching incident has been a marked page in the family history through all these centuries. Sir Richard was cousin to Camden, the historian, whose testimony in favour of Mary's innocence derives the greater importance from his close connection with many persons of unimpeachable integrity who were personally acquainted with

her, and heard those explanations from her own lips which she so often offered to give to Elizabeth.[1] On the second day, Mary arrived at Bolton.

On the 20th July, Knollys wrote Cecil that the Queen of Scots' apparel had been brought from Lochleven. This seems a strange piece of information to put before Cecil, for Mary was carried forcibly from Edinburgh to Lochleven, with nothing whatever but the garments she was wearing, and it does not appear that during her eleven months' captivity there she had much surplus clothing, although we are not definitely informed. To send for this clothing was evidently Elizabeth's parsimony, for Elizabeth grudged everything she paid on Mary's account. Knollys was kept so persistently on "short commons," and could not get money from Elizabeth to pay the expenses of Mary's household, that he begged to be recalled. He eventually sent a special messenger to London for money, and it was only then that he got it. Knollys again wrote Cecil, referring to the vexatious and melancholy condition of the Queen of Scots, her indignation at the contents of Elizabeth's letters, and her request to return to

[1] *Strickland.*

Scotland. Queen Mary, he says, "is a rare woman, and thinks him an honest man." His wife was ill, and desired to come to him, but Elizabeth refused to allow her.[1]

Bolton Castle is near Richmond, in the north riding of Yorkshire. This was considered a lonely out-of-the-way place, selected by Elizabeth for its suitabilities as a prison. It is now a ruin. On the window of Mary's bedchamber she had written her name with a diamond. Unfortunately this pane of glass was accidentally broken on its being taken out by Lady Bolton, who wished to possess Queen Mary's autograph. Mary was received here by Lady Scrope, sister to the Duke of Norfolk, and who had met her at Cockermouth. The place was badly furnished, and though Sir George Bowes, the governor, provided all that was necessary, it was four years before Elizabeth could be persuaded to buy what was required. Many of Mary's troubles resulted from the unguarded frankness of her own disposition. Her anger and its effects might be compared to a brief summer storm, a flash of lightning, a clap of thunder, followed by a shower of rain, and the returning sensation.[2]

Lord Herries, on the 25th July, returned

[1] State Paper Office. [2] *Strickland.*

from London. In the presence of Scrope and Knollys, he gave the following as the result of his interview with Elizabeth. Subsequent events showed that it was the merest buffoonery, Elizabeth not having the remotest intention of fulfilling her promises :—

"The Queen of England thinks it expedient to send for the noblemen who are your adversaries, and to oblige them to give an account of their conduct before such commoners as shall be agreeable to you. In her opinion, they cannot justify themselves; but if they should actually assign satisfactory reasons for their proceedings, she will, notwithstanding, restore you to your kingdom. If they shall fail in their vindication, she agrees to replace you upon your throne, and, if necessary, to employ her armies for that end, conditionally that you renounce all title to her crown during her life and during the existence of any issue of her body, abandon France, engage in a strict league with England, reject the mass, and adopt the Common Prayer-book after the form of the English church."

On the advice of Lord Herries she accepted these terms, and sent a letter to Elizabeth. She followed up this by admitting an English chaplain, attentively listening to him, even while he assailed all the bulwarks of popery.

When Mary saw there was no hope of an

interview with the English queen, she unfortunately consented to have her case discussed before a conference of Elizabeth's ministers, to be held at York. This conference opened its sittings there on the 4th of October.

The Privy Council met at Edinburgh on the 10th of September, on which day Moray confessed to having received from Morton a silver box, overgilt with gold, with missive letters, contracts or obligations for marriage, sonnets or love ballads, and other letters, said to have passed between the queen and Bothwell. Which box and contents were taken and found with George Dalgleish, servant to Bothwell, upon the 20th of June, 1567. And therefore the regent exonerates and discharges the Earl of Morton of the box and its contents, testifying and declaring that he has truly and honestly kept the box and its contents without any augmentation, alteration, or diminution thereof. And the regent, on his honour, faithfully promises that these said letters and writings shall always be forthcoming to Morton and the remanent noblemen who entered on the quarrel of avenging the murder, whenever they shall have to do therewith for showing the ground and equity of their proceedings.

This is the recital of this important minute

in the Privy Council Register. The sederunt is not given; but it was evidently a meeting of Moray's faction under the high-sounding title of the Privy Council. The subject or debate was the "Casket Letters," and the circumstantial way in which Moray handles the subject, when the whole thing was a huge fraud, manifests the cunning and skilful manner in which the entire plot was got up and foisted on the people. He got Elizabeth induced to order a conference to be held at York on the 4th of October for the trial of Mary's cause, and to afford him an opportunity of producing these letters in evidence against her. When the conference opened, her commissioners made their complaint against Moray, Morton, and Mar, the chief rebels, which was practically a recital of what she had unlawfully suffered. Moray's conscience smote him, and he refused to put his answer in writing. Unless positively assured of Elizabeth's intention to aid and maintain them in their rebellion, they would not proceed to any accusation. This was an extraordinary intimation. Some private understanding seems to have been arrived at, for they proceeded to defend their conduct respecting the imprisonment of the queen, pointing out that, wearied with the cares

of government, she had voluntarily resigned the crown to her son, and had appointed Moray regent to govern in his name, and that voluntarily —no compulsion, violence, or force having been used to move her thereto. This was attested by Lindsay, and was a gross falsehood. Mary was not allowed to appear personally to defend herself. There was an obvious reason for this. She would not only have taken to pieces the accusations against her, but she would have proved the guilt of her accusers as themselves the murderers of Darnley. Elizabeth in that event would have been on the horns of a dilemma, and, rather than risk such a blow to her reputation, she determined not to make it possible, by refusing Mary any access to her trial except through her commissioners.

Five of the eight Casket Letters were produced at York—two alleged to be from Glasgow, two from Stirling, and one alleged to be a genuine letter of the queen to Darnley, but with Bothwell's name subscribed. One of Mary's instructions to her commissioners was—

"If any such writings exist they are false and feigned, forged and invented by themselves, and you shall request the principals to be produced, and that I myself shall have inspection thereof, and make answer thereto." [1]

[1] *Goodall.*

Mary Howitt

At this conference there was a fraudulent warrant produced by Maitland, signed, as he asserted, by the queen's own hand, authorizing the nobility assembled at Ainslie's Tavern to sign the bond approving of the marriage with Bothwell. That document was not produced at Westminster and was not again heard of, a proof that its forgery was undeniable. Cecil asked Sussex, one of the most eminent men of the time, for his advice respecting the matter. It is important to notice the reply of Sussex, dated October 21, 1568. He thinks the accusation of Mary would hardly be attempted. If her accusers produce the letters in proof against her, she will deny them, and accuse most of them of manifest consent to the murder, hardly to be denied, so as upon the trial on both sides her proof will judiciously fall best out as it is thought.[1] This was an important letter. Elizabeth requested her council to induce Mary to believe that the object of the conference was to effect a reconciliation between her and her subjects. Sussex indicated that the real object was to render any such reconciliation impossible. And things turned out precisely as Sussex foretold.

[1] *Hosack.*

If Mary's commissioners could not get permission for her to appear to defend herself, they were to break up the conference. This was an express command. They did not at first enforce it, but proceeded to charge Mary's accusers with being the murderers of Darnley. Two days afterwards, however, they did insist on Mary's instructions being carried out, and they withdrew from the conference. It did break up, but for a different reason. Her commissioners did their part so well that her innocence was all but established. This was too much for Elizabeth, and she ordered the sittings to be transferred to Westminster, so that the Casket Letters, of which it is alleged she now heard for the first time, might be produced. During the sittings of this conference Mary was oppressed with suitors all wanting to marry her. There was the Duke of Norfolk, who asked Moray's advice. Moray told Norfolk if he could get Mary's promise to confirm him in the regency he would in no wise accuse her; and, as he and Norfolk were of the same religion, they might live as brothers, the one to rule England and the other Scotland, "to the glory of God and the weal of both realms." How beautiful! This buffoonery caused Norfolk to break off the conversation. The sittings opened at Westminster

on the 26th of November, and the accusation made against the queen at York was repeated. Moray charged Mary, not only with the murder of her husband, but with intent to murder her son, and that in consequence of her crimes she had been deposed by the Scottish Parliament. These charges were false, as Moray well knew. He never made the slightest attempt to prove them, nor was he asked to do so.

On the 1st of December, Lord Herries was deputed by Mary's commissioners to reply to these charges. He made an eloquent speech, and denounced as utterly false everything they preferred against her. He expressed his disgust at the calumnious and false invented slanders against the queen. They were writers with their own hand of that devilish bond for the assassination of Darnley, which was presented to Bothwell, as was made manifest before ten thousand people at the execution in Edinburgh of certain of the principal offenders. There is another and important reason given by Lord Herries why these men who murdered Darnley wanted to incriminate the queen. She had been lavish with her grants of crown lands to them because they had worried her by constant and persistent nagging. She had power to revoke all that as soon as she completed

her twenty-fifth year. They therefore wanted to get her son on the throne to prevent her being able to do so. The bishop of Ross now demanded in her name that she be allowed to be present at this conference, and to make her own defence, but Elizabeth again refused the request. As the result of this intelligence Mary's commissioners refused to proceed further with the case, and the conference was dissolved. Cecil told Mary's commissioners that they had misunderstood Elizabeth, and were bound to rectify their mistake.

The conference therefore re-assembled on the 8th of December, Cecil having by that time got Moray to promise that he would prefer against Mary some other accusation. Moray then produced the Casket Letters, his charge being that they were written by the queen to Bothwell, that they were left in Edinburgh Castle, and, before he fled, he sent for them by Dalgleish his servant, and that they were intercepted by Morton. In a letter by Mary to her commissioners during the sittings, she said, referring to these letters,—

"It being a thing so horrible that neither we nor you could have imagined it would have entered the thoughts of the said rebels."

When the full accusation was communicated to her, she requested her commissioners—

"to demand that she be allowed to defend herself in person before Elizabeth, seeing Elizabeth had allowed an interview to her accusers. She demanded also to be put in the presence of the nobility, and the ambassadors of other countries to prove her innocence, and to make Elizabeth and these understand the invented calumnies of the rebels; also that her accusers be arrested by the queen's authority to answer such heinous offences as shall be laid to their charge."

She demands as her right to appear in person to confront her accusers, and to be heard in her defence in presence of a public assembly of the peers of the realm, the nobility, and foreign ambassadors. Elizabeth, Moray, and Morton consulted, and actually refused this request—a proceeding that must be regarded as very significant in the circumstances.

Mary, in writing to her commissioners on December 19, 1568, directing them to answer the accusations of Moray respecting the trial and marriage of Bothwell, refers to her previous victorious answer at the York conference, proving that her accusers had acted in concert with him, concealed his crimes from her, acquitted him by their own votes in Parliament, and combined to accomplish the illegal marriage with her to which she had been, in consequence of that

combination, compelled to condescend, they shamelessly making it the pretext, immediately after its accomplishment, for deposing her and seizing her plate, jewels, and the revenues of the crown, with their own hands.[1]

The conference does not appear to have sat daily. On the 7th of January, 1569, her commissioners had an interview with Elizabeth, when they again accused Moray and Morton of the murder, and insisted on having an inspection of the Casket Letters, also copies of them and of other documents attributed to her by her enemies. Elizabeth took time to consider this request, and, fearing that the papers produced by Moray would not bear investigation, ordered Cecil, on the 11th of January, to dissolve the conference, with the following declaration to Moray and his companions as Elizabeth's judgment:—

"That forasmuch as there had been nothing deduced against them as yet that might impair their honour and allegiance, so on the other hand there had been nothing sufficient produced nor shown by them against their sovereign whereby the queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the queen her good sister, for anything she had yet seen."

This is an important judgment. Elizabeth

[1] *Goodall.*

and her ministers had examined the evidence, taken time to consider it, and came to the conclusion there was no case against Mary. This has been regarded as a proof of the forgery of the Casket Letters. This judgment was given, without Mary being heard in her defence, by those who were her notorious enemies. Evidently the forgeries were so palpable that Elizabeth did not dare allow copies to be given to Mary's commissioners. Elizabeth was requested to obtain beforehand from the judges, not an opinion merely, but a positive assurance that the proofs were sufficient. She was unable to do so. The decision does not surprise us, for the language of the letters is so gross that we wonder any one could be deceived by it. Elizabeth received love letters from some of her own courtiers which were no forgeries, and which contained language even more gross than that of the Casket Letters, *e.g.* Sir Christopher Hatton's letter to her of June, 1573, one of a series—"some of which will not bear quotation."[1] If the letters had been genuine no possible uneasiness could have been entertained as to the result. But guilt makes cowards of the wisest and bravest, and the natural fears and hesitation of the forger are visible in every line of Moray's letters.

[1] *Strickland.*

## *Official Report of the Westminster Conference.*[1]

Westminster, December 7th, 1568. The queen's majesty's commissioners having heard the foresaid book of articles read and the other writings containing the Act of Parliament and the name of the estates assembled, after that they entered into a new hearing of the book of articles, and, having heard three of the chapters or heads, the Earl of Moray and his colleagues according to appointment came to the commissioners and said they trusted that, after the reading of the said book of articles, and specially upon sight of the Act of Parliament wherein the whole cause wherewith their adversaries did charge them were found, declared and concluded to be lawful; their lordships would not only be satisfied to think them clear and void of such crime as her majesty did charge them with; but also would satisfy her majesty, for they had no manner of meaning from the beginning of this conference to have preferred anything to the prejudice of the Queen of Scots their sovereign's mother; but that upon her request made to the queen's majesty they were commanded to come into this realm to answer to such doings as they should be charged with. And so being charged by their adversaries they had made such answer as their lordships had seen. The same charge being continued against them, their majesty also as it seemeth, charging them and condemning them, they required to know whether their lordships were now satisfied and if they were not, that it would please

[1] State Paper Office.

them to show if in any part of those articles they conceived any doubt or would have any other proof, which they trusted was not needed considering the circumstances were for the most part notorious to the world, yet they would willingly show matter therein to satisfy them. Her majesty's commissioners answered that it was well known what place they held in this conference, viz. to be only hearers, and with all indifference to report unto her majesty such things as should be on either side produced without requiring or proving any other matter than they should find convenient to utter or exhibit. And therefore they could not with real indifference declare what they thought sufficient or insufficient in these matters. It was for their adversaries to show what they thought to be insufficient, and where they desired to move her majesty's commissioners to allow hereof in the same way as the Three Estates in Scotland had done. The said commissioners answered that they knew not how the estates in Scotland were moved. As for themselves, how they were moved they need not declare. Hereupon the Earl of Moray and his colleagues pausing a while withdrew. On their return they repeated their former unwillingness and requiring that they might utter and declare that which they might under the benefit of their former protestation, adding sundry times that their adversaries had been the cause of anything spoken to the prejudice of the queen, whom they knew well had more respect for them than for her own honour and weal.

And so they produced a small gilded coffer, not fully one foot long, being garnished in many places with the Roman F. set under a royal crown wherein were

certain letters and writings, and as they said and affirmed to have been written by the Queen of Scots' own hand to the Earl of Bothwell, which coffer, as they said, being left in the Castle of Edinburgh by Bothwell before his flying away, was sent for by one George Dalgleish his servant. Dalgleish was taken by the Earl of Morton who, sitting presently as one of the commissioners, avowed upon his oath the same to be true and the writings to be the very same without any manner of change. Before they would exhibit any of those letters they exhibited a writing in a Roman hand in French, written, as they said and would avow, by the Queen of Scots herself, being a promise of marriage to the Earl of Bothwell, which writing being without date, and although some words therein seem to the contrary, they supposed them to have been written by her before the death of her husband. They also exhibited another writing, in Scotch, which they avowed to be written by the Earl of Huntly, dated the 5th April, containing a form of a contract of marriage betwixt the said queen and the Earl of Bothwell, subscribed "Marie," which they avowed to be the handwriting of the queen: and underneath, "James Earl Bothwell," which they also avowed to be the handwriting of Bothwell. At which time he was commonly defamed and not divorced, which is not acquitted before the 12th of April. The tenor of the contract runs:—"At Seton the 5th day of April," etc. After this they showed the acts or records of the Justice Court held at Edinburgh the said 12th of April signed by John Bellenden, Justice Clerk, among which followed the indictment:—"James Earl Bothwell, Lords Hailes and Crichton," etc. And in another place amongst

the said acts and records the names of the lords of assize with their answer to the said indictment as hereafter followeth :—"Assize Andrew Earl of Rothes," etc. To which they added this in defence of the said verdict, that the matter contained in the latter part of the protestation of George Earl of Caithness, chancellor of the assize, that the indictment was not on this point true that the murder was committed on the 9th of February, for the murder was committed on the next day, being the 10th of February —in the morning two hours after midnight, which in law was and ought to be accounted the 10th day, and so the acquittal is not on that point untrue. They also required that consideration might be given to certain words in various parts of the contract made at Seton on the 5th of April, 1567, whereby it is by express words mentioned that before the 5th of April a process of divorce betwixt Bothwell and Dame Lady Gordon his wife was intended, that is to say began. They alleged at the same time that the process of the said divorce was not begun, but that the contract was made, not only when the said earl was undivorced, but before any such process was intended. For which purpose the said earl and his colleagues produced before two ordinary ecclesiastical judges two acts of the judgment of the divorce from which it appeared that the process of the one began on the 25th and the other on the 27th of April, as will appear from the tenor of the process hereafter following. After this the said earl and his colleagues offered to them certain proof—not only of the queen's hate towards the king her husband, but also of inordinate love towards Bothwell. To this purpose they first produced a letter written in French and

in Roman hand which they avowed to be a letter of the said queen's own hand sent to Bothwell when she was at Glasgow with her husband, when she went to bring him to Edinburgh. The terms of this letter hereinafter followeth :—" Il semble que avec ques vie absence," etc. After this they produced for the same purpose one other long letter written also with the like hand and in French, which they also avowed to be written with the said queen's own hand to Bothwell from Glasgow. On the reading of this they expressed their own knowledge of certain matters concerning doubtful speeches in the same letter of one William Higate, and—and also of the Lord of Minto, by which they intended to make it plain what otherwise was doubtful, the tenor of which letter followeth :—" Estant party du lien," etc.

It will be observed from this report that it is extremely one-sided, and simply an *ex parte* statement in disguise. No attempt is made to give a *résumé* of the statements of Mary's commissioners. We know that their denial of Moray's charges was emphatic, and they gave good reasons for denouncing these. To include this denial in the official report would not please Elizabeth, therefore it was withheld. This report is plausible and misleading, yet it was evidently accepted by Cecil and the English commissioners, who made no attempt to verify the evidence of Moray. What were the circumstances which

were "notorious to all the world"? Doubtless the murder of Darnley, the seizure of the queen, and the Bothwell marriage. The English commissioners considered it no part of their duty to find out the truth. They were only to be "hearers and with all indifference to report to her majesty," etc. They declined to give any opinion on the matters put before them, and in these circumstances it is difficult to say what object such a conference could serve. They were creatures of Elizabeth, and therefore bound to support Moray, who was aware of this, consequently had no difficulty in submitting his false evidence. When he said that "these adversaries had been the cause of anything spoken to the prejudice of the queen," he was merely hoodwinking the commissioners, for nothing of the kind could be proved. This was his way of coming to the main question, the introduction of what the report calls "a small gilded coffer"—in other words, the Casket Letters, and the manner in which these were found. Considering the business they had in hand, these letters were essential to the success of their conspiracy, if they could depend on Elizabeth's help. There is great duplicity in the circumstantial way that Moray represented the matter, knowing all the time that what he was saying was

pure invention. It must have been with a leer in his eye that he exhibited that forged writing in a Roman hand in French, which he said was written by the Queen of Scots, followed by the bogus contract of marriage, dated the 5th of April, alleged to be signed by Mary and Bothwell. In his enthusiasm he committed a blunder against himself: Mary was not at Seton on the 5th of April, consequently could not sign any papers on that date at Seton House. And the fine distinction he drew about the murder happening on the 10th and not on the 9th, and scoring that as a leading point in his indictment, is too grotesque for serious consideration. Whether the murder happened at twelve o'clock on Friday night or at two o'clock on Saturday morning is of no moment, but the prominence he gives it creates suspicion of the *bonâ fide* nature of his whole charge, even did no other exist. The question of the divorce as he puts it, is again under a wrong date; and, as he was one of those who compelled Bothwell to marry the queen, his attempt to attack her for doing so, and pleading that she signed a marriage contract when Bothwell was undivorced, is false and contemptible. The remainder of the report refers to the Casket Letters, which we have dealt with in a separate chapter. Mary had

everything to gain by a thorough investigation, and everything to lose if there was none. It is apparent that Moray's charges from first to last were false, and amounted simply to a fraudulent indictment for the purpose of accomplishing his own ends.

The bold and singular step of Elizabeth in bringing a sovereign princess, who had thrown herself voluntarily under her protection, to trial before a foreign court,—the trying her by foreign laws upon writings alleged to be sworn by persons of whom they were afraid and refused to bring into her presence, was a flagrant violation of every principle of justice and humanity.[1]

Thus terminated this famous conference, the history of which we derive mainly from Mary's enemies; and if it does not convince us of her guilt, it convinces us at least of the utterly unscrupulous character of her accusers, and of the gross partiality of Elizabeth's ministers.[2]

Writing about this conference to his ambassador at the English Court on the 15th of October, 1569, Moray says—

"We produced certain articles whereby we made it to appear that, as Bothwell was the chief executioner of the murder of Darnley, so was she of foreknowledge

[1] *W. Tytler.* [2] *Hosack.*

counsel, persuader, and commander of the murder, and maintainer and fortifier of the execution of it. In verification of the said articles, we produced eight letters in French written by the queen's own hand, and sent to James, sometime Earl Bothwell. 2. A little contract or obligation, written by the queen's own hand, promising to marry the said Bothwell. 3. Another contract written by the Earl of Huntly, dated 5th April, 1567. 4. The depositions of the persons who were art and part of the murder and were executed for the same. 5. The process led against them before the justice and his deputies, whereupon followed their execution. 6. The process of Bothwell's pretended cleansing before justice. 7. Process of divorce between James, sometime Earl Bothwell, and Dame Jean Gordon, his spouse, before the Commissary of Edinburgh for pretended causes of adultery on the said earl's part. 8. The process of forfeiture led against the said Earl Bothwell. 9. An act before the lords of session whereby the queen, after counterfeited ravishing, declared herself to be at liberty. 10. The said queen's consent given to the lords to subscribe the bond for the promotion of Bothwell to her marriage. 11. The protestation made by Lord Herries and others at the time of parliament. 12. The act of the confirmation of the king's authority and establishing the regency during his highness's minority. 13. The declaration of Thomas Nelson, spoken by his own mouth and written with his own hand. 14. The declaration of Thomas Crawford, also spoken by his own mouth and written with his own hand. 15. The declaration of the Earl of Morton, how the letters came into his hands. 16. The affirmation of

the commissioners that the letters were the queen's own handwriting."[1]

This communication shows that the conspiracy against the queen was elaborately got up, and that the whole process, so far as reduced to writing, was one mass of forgery and fraud. There was genius in the fabrication of these papers, for they were numerous, skilfully drawn, and conspicuous for their plausible and politic nature. Several of them formed part of the contents of the famous silver casket. We need not be surprised that the conference sat for three months with such an indictment to dispose of, specially as the queen's commissioners, led by Lord Herries, completely overwhelmed the English commissioners by a defence of the Queen of Scots that gave the lie to Moray and the conspirators, and was unanswerable. Moray's object was the downfall and ruin of the queen, and, in spite of his elaborate accusation, he was nonsuited, and for the moment his most cherished hopes were completely blasted.

After the conference and the exoneration of Mary, the restless spirit of Elizabeth became as active as ever. We are indebted to Labanoff for a remarkable proposal of hers which has every

[1] *Goodall.*

appearance of being *bonâ fide*. Petrucci, the Florentine ambassador to France, informed his master that Elizabeth had entered into a secret agreement with Moray, stipulating that if he could prove his accusations against Mary, and put the infant prince and principal fortresses into her hands, she would get him appointed heir to the throne of Scotland at the death of Queen Mary's son. To carry out this plan the death of Mary was necessary, and it was resolved to accomplish that under the colour of justice.[1]

An event of importance to Mary, and not, we think, noticed by any of her historians, occurred this year. This was no less than an intimation by the conspirators, that she had renounced the Catholic faith, and become a Protestant. This was an ingenious move of the conspirators, and was meant to prevent the Catholics rising in her favour. It shows the determined character ot Moray and his followers. We have no record of the date when the announcement was made, but Mary heard of it in November, while she was a prisoner at Bolton.

She was equal to the occasion, and, in order to have the intimation revoked and herself put right with her subjects, she wrote Pope Pius V. the

[1] *Strickland.*

following indignant letter, in which she besought him to exercise his authority on her behalf.[1]

Having been inform'd that my Rebellious Subjects, and their Favourers and Abettors, who retain them in their Country, have so cunningly manag'd by their practices and operations as to cause it to be reported to y^e^ King of Spain, my Lord and Good Brother, that I am wavering in y^e^ Catholic Religion, tho' I wrote a few Days since to Your Holiness, devoutly kissing your Feet, and recommending myself to your Protection, I now again humbly entreat you, that you would be still pleas'd to hold and esteem me as a most devoted and obedient Daughter of the Holy Catholic Church, and not to give credit to those reports which probably have reach'd or may reach your ears, by y^e^ false and slanderous speeches which the said Rebels and others of y^e^ same sect have caus'd to be published, as if I had chang'd my Religion, that they may deprive me of the Protection of Your Holiness, and of the other Catholic Princes. This is so sensible an Affliction to me, that I could not forbear writing again to Your Holiness, to complain of y^e^ great wrong and Injury that is done me. I most humbly beseech you that you will be pleas'd to write in my favour to y^e^ Christian Princes, devout and obedient sons of Your Holiness, exhorting them to interpose y^e^ Credit and Authority they have with y^e^ Queen of *England*, under whose Power I now am, and to desire Her Permission for my going out of Her Country, into which I entered, upon Security of her Promises, to demand Aid against my Rebellious People, or if she still

[1] This letter is in the Lansdowne Collection.

resolves to detain me, yet by all means that she would grant me the exercise of my Religion, which has been forbidden me since my arrival in this kingdom. In the mean while I cannot but acquaint your holiness with ye subtlety that my Adversaries have used to colour over their Calumnies against me, having contriv'd that an *English* minister should be brought into ye place where I am straightly kept, who was wont sometimes to recite certain prayers in ye Vulgar Tongue, and I, being not in my own Disposal, nor suffered to use any other way of worship, did not refuse to hear them; conceiving I might do so without Blame. Nevertheless, Most Holy Father, if in this, or in anything else I have committed a Fault, I crave mercy of Your Holiness, begging you would be pleas'd to pardon and absolve me, And to assure Your self that I never had any other will but to remain constantly and with all Devotion a Daughter of ye Holy Catholic *Roman* Church, in which I desire to live and die. And according to ye Counsels or Precepts of Your Holiness I offer my self to show such Penance and Amendment, as that all ye Catholic Princes and Your Holiness especially as ye Monarch of ye World, shall have reason to be satisfied with my Sincerity. In ye mean while I shall devoutly kiss the Feet of Your Holiness, praying God to preserve you for ye good of his Holy Church.

From the Castle of Bolton, the last of November, 1568.

Your Holiness's most Obedient and Devoted Daughter,
The Queen of *Scots*, Dowager of *France*,
MARY.

The following letter, from Elizabeth to Sir

Francis Knollys, is of considerable moment, as showing her anxiety that Mary should yield to the conspirators, allow Moray to be regent, and her son to go into England under her protection.

This was not an honest proposal, seeing it was to be made by Knollys as if it were his own. There is an undignified tone about the whole letter that stamps its writer with treachery. Mary was not to be forced into admitting what was untrue, and no proposals of that kind would she entertain. Her position was clear and intelligible, even to Elizabeth and the conspirators, and to yield in the least would have compromised her reputation. She would have laid down her life sooner than do so. Elizabeth little knew she was dealing with a woman of high principle, and one that would not be identified with unfair or fraudulent dealing in any form. This letter seems to have been written when the Westminster conference was sitting: Lord Herries delivered his speech in Mary's defence on the 8th of December. Elizabeth omitted to sign the letter. Whether this was recorded we are left to conjecture :—

*Queen Elizabeth to Vice-Chamberlain Knollys.*

December 22, 1568.

By our letters sent Yesterday, we advised yow of the state of the Cause of the Queen of Scotts; and desired yow

to prove the Queen of Scotts meaning; if it could be, before the comming of hir Commissionars. And now we have considered it, and find that it is thought of all other devices this is the best for us: "That the Queen then might be induced by some good Perswasions, for avoiding the great extremities which her Cause may bring hir, to yield so as it might also appeare of hir own Will, that by way of Permission, that hir Son may continue in the State, wherin he is; and the Regency also in the Earl of Moray, as alredy it is ordred by their Parleiment; and her self to continue here in our Realm during such time as we shall find convenient. Hir Son, nevertheless, for his Safety to be brought into this our Realm, to be preserved, and educated under the Custody of Persons of the birth of Scotland for a certen space; and this whole Cause of hirs, wherof she hath been charged, to be committed to perpetual Silence; and the Cawse of this hir yielding and assent to be grounded and notified to proceed of hir own Good Will, by reason of hir weariness of imprisonment and of desire to see hir son established, in such terms, to save hir Honor, as is at more length contained in the Instrument devised for the Dimission of hir Crown, whilst she was in Lochleven. And as this motion cannot be well proposed to hir, but ether by some of hir own, being addicted to hir, and whom she shall trust; or by some of ours, whom we also shall trust; we have thought to attempt the Proof herof by both means. First we would have yow, to attempt hir herin, and yet to do the same as of your self, by way of Communication and devising with hir of hir Troobles, and also of hir whole Cawse, and of the likelihood of some end that must needs follow. And because yow

shall perceive what Reasons are thought metest to be used; yow shall herwith receive a Memorial in Writing, conteaning certain apparant Reasons to move hir to the same, as we our selves with the advice of certen of our Privy-Counsel have thought metest: which Memorial being well perused and considered by yow, we wold have yow, as speedily as yow may, begin to deal with hir therin; always so prepering your Speech as coming only from yourself, and not by any direction; but rather seming that yow wold be glad to deal herin for hir: and as yow shall see Cawse to use any other Reasons to induce hir to this purpoose, so to doo; and of hir Disposition to send us answer with all the spede that yow may; And lest she may have some spech herof with Lord Scrop, we think it good that yow inform him of the same also, with great secrecy, that he may agree with yow in Opinion, if cause be given him by hir to talk therof. And this we would have done, before the Bishop of Ross shall come thither; whom we have caused to be detained a Day or two upon another Pretence, meaning to cause this Matter to be so indirectly broken with him, as he shall have Cause to deal with the Queen at his coming thither: And therefore we would have hir not only understand herin before hand by yow, but also be prepared by this Purpos; and in any wise not to be known that you are directed from us in this cause."

(Elizabeth's signature is not upon the paper in the Burleigh MSS.)

## CHAPTER X.

### The Casket Letters, and who wrote them?

It will now be necessary to refer to the story of the Casket Letters, a subject that has been surrounded with controversy. The whole history of these letters, from their origin, five days after Carberry Hill, till their extinction with the death of the Regent Morton in 1581, is practically a dramatic story, cunningly and ingeniously wrought out. It was alleged by Morton that in the silver casket were eight letters (which we print in the appendix), eleven sonnets, and two marriage contracts.

The first question that arises is: What was taking place on the 20th of June, 1567, the day on which this casket was alleged to be given to Dalgleish by Sir James Balfour, governor of Edinburgh Castle, and taken from Dalgleish by Morton? Bothwell was a fugitive at Dunbar, his enemies were in possession of Edinburgh Castle, access to the city and to the castle were strongly

guarded, and, on Morton's authority, Dalgleish, Bothwell's servant, went from Dunbar to Edinburgh Castle, got this casket from the governor, and Morton met him and took it from him. On the 16th of June a proclamation was issued by the nobles, undertaking to apprehend Bothwell and bring him to justice. Balfour was not likely to give up a silver casket, if he had it, to a man against whom there was a warrant out for his apprehension. The story, as told by Morton, and repeated by Moray at the Westminster conference, is a very shady one, and seems incapable of confirmation. The Casket Letters were produced at the York conference in October, 1568, or sixteen months after Morton said he seized them. Why was Balfour not questioned about them, if he was the man who gave the casket to Dalgleish? We are informed[1] that the discovery of the letters acted on the heated passions of the lords like oil on fire, and that a messenger was sent to Paris to inform Moray of the discovery. For the circumstances so graphically described Froude is indebted entirely to his imagination.[2] The letters were neither dated nor signed, and no originals were ever seen. Nothing but copies were exhibited at York and Westminster. At

[1] *Froude.* [2] *Hosack.*

York they were in the Scottish language. At Westminster they were in French, and their bad translation was ludicrous. It has never been explained why they were presented in different languages. Had they been genuine Moray would not have gone to that trouble. Indeed the clumsy and unscholarly translation arouses great suspicion.

A writer,[1] whose research does him infinite credit, says—

"The French letters which Moray and his accomplices produced, and swore to be written wholly by the queen's own hand, are only a translation from George Buchanan's Latin, and his Latin a translation from the Scottish original forgery, even that very original of which Moray sent a copy to be considered by the English judges beforehand, calling it a translation."

In scrutinizing these famous documents the first thing that strikes the reader is their vulgar and coarse expressions and their sensual complexion. This alone would condemn them, even if there was nothing else to do so.

Mary was a fluent writer, but she never wrote a vulgar expression in the whole course of her life, as her letters prove. Her letters are remarkable for their scholarly and fine composition. A well-known writer says her letters have been

[1] *Goodall.*

gathered from every corner of the earth, and every page of them marks the eloquence and simplicity of her thoughts. Nos. 1 and 2 of the Casket Letters were evidently written to show that she was accessory to the murder of her husband. The forgery of No. 1 is apparent. Could the queen possibly write on Saturday that she would take Darnley to Craigmillar on Monday, when Darnley had told her in positive terms that he would not go there? But that refusal would not be known to the forger when he wrote the letter. On this refusal Maitland engaged the house at Kirk of Field. The journey to Edinburgh occupied the royal pair from Monday to Thursday, so that, as regards this letter, the forgers were "hoist with their own petard." No. 2 is a singularly long letter, and probably the production of more than one writer. It is silly and vulgar, nonsensical and false, and the "cloven foot" conspicuous. This is the principal letter, and was the leading charge against Mary at the conference. Most of the controversy has centred round it. The first objection is that it is not the queen's composition; *e.g.* the opening sentence—

"Being gone from the place, where I had left my harte, it may be easily judged what my countenance was

consydering what the body without harte, whilk was cause that till dynner I had used lyttle talk, neyther wold anybody venture to advance himself thereunto, thinking that it was not good so to do."

Could any one suppose that Mary would write such incoherent nonsense? Look, for example, at her letters to Norfolk, one of which is printed in this work (vol. ii. p. 67). These manifest the style of composition of her love-letters. And is it likely that she would introduce a disagreeable incident in the very beginning of this letter, in the second paragraph, if she was writing a love-letter? This paragraph bears the impress of Crawford, who was Lennox's servant, not Darnley's, Crawford being the person concerned in that conversation. What follows is a laboured description of Darnley, which is full of suspicion; and the paragraph beginning, "I am weary and am asleep," is too coarse to be Mary's. Skelton was right when he said, "Such another love-letter does not exist;" and that it is a "singular and incoherent jumble" is apparent to any one who reads it carefully. The writer of the volume on the Casket Letters[1] gives us a laboured criticism of this letter; but criticism founded on Buchanan, Mignet, and Froude is not convincing. There

[1] *Henderson.*

is neither style nor structure in it, and it is precisely what Skelton called it. It is remarkable that this writer has not been influenced by the clear and convincing arguments of Hosack. He cannot contradict that historian, because there is no authentic material to draw upon. He says, "The very variety of moods portrayed in the letter is an evidence rather of its genuineness than of the reverse." This, of course, is matter of opinion, but what is apparent is that the letter cannot be called a love-letter. It is a mere narrative of Darnley's condition—and a false narrative, as we have pointed out. That the forger was a person of "very exceptional literary skill, and very remarkable knowledge of human character and nature," we do not believe. The composition will not warrant this opinion. The coarse reference to Mary warming herself on Lord Livingstone is very properly put by Skelton, that a woman who could write this "had forfeited her self-respect and lost all sense of decency." What does this writer say?—The words in the English version are, "When I was leaning upon him and warming myself," and the Scots version, "When I was leaning upon him warming me at the fire." In neither version do the words "against him" occur. Why should there be any

variation between the English and Scots versions? Skelton was commenting on the paragraph as it stood in the Scots version. It was not a paragraph that Mary could have written. We do not think the supposition that Crawford wrote this letter is unlikely, or that information communicated to him by Darnley is an "inadequate explanation." To say that a forger required information on the following matters was not essential: Meeting with Crawford four miles from Glasgow; her conversation with him; meeting with Sir James Hamilton and his conversation (who was Sir James Hamilton?); arrival of Luss, and her statement regarding her isolation in Glasgow. These were all points that Crawford could answer to, and, if he wrote this letter or assisted to write it, as there are reasons for supposing, then this argument falls to the ground. The writer goes on to say that if "such conversations as these with Sir James Hamilton and Lord Livingstone never took place, Hamilton and Livingstone would have detected the forgery as soon as the letter was produced." But these men never saw the Casket Letters. Livingstone, though one of Mary's commissioners at York, failed to get even a copy of them, and how could they detect the forgery?

The reasons for defending Crawford are not conclusive. It is very probable that he could have written the letters in English, French, or Scots; and it is a curious fact that his conversation with the queen and some of the contents of this letter are identical. If he wrote down at the time "what Darnley reported as having passed between him and the queen," we cannot accept that as a *bonâ fide* record of the conversation: nor could any one attach the least importance to a conversation at second hand, especially at a time when great excitement was prevailing. What assurance have we that Crawford, who was not a man of integrity, did not report the conversation to suit his own views? There is material in the letter which suggests that he had to do with it. It will be remembered when Mary went to Glasgow she ought to have been met and escorted by Lennox, but he sent Crawford to meet her, and to say that he was indisposed and could not come. Mary replied, "There is no receipt against fear." Nobody but Crawford heard this, and how is it introduced into the most important of the Casket Letters? Though the letters, sonnets, and other contents of the casket were not produced till October, 1568, the letters by themselves are said to have been produced

at the Privy Council of the 4th of December, 1567, and before the Scottish Parliament of the 15th of the same month; but there is no means of verifying this, and some historians deny that they were so produced.[1] What gives weight to the denial is the absence of any deliverance on the subject by either of these two bodies. It is stated by some writers that when these letters were first introduced into the Privy Council, on the 4th of December, they professed to have been written and subscribed by the queen's own hand, and sent to Bothwell. When they were brought before Parliament on December 15th they were said to have been written by her own hand, but not subscribed. When they were produced at York they were alleged to have been superscribed by Bothwell. They were exhibited at Westminster without any superscription; and, finally, they appear to have been neither subscribed nor superscribed. If, as has been said, the letters produced on December 15th were of "such a kind as to sufficiently incriminate the queen," Parliament certainly took a very different view of the case. They issued a proclamation of outlawry and forfeiture of his estates against Bothwell for "besetting the queen with

[1] *Strickland.*

a thousand armed men, equipped in manner of war, she suspecting no evil from any of her subjects, least of all from Bothwell." This does not look as if the letters were before this Parliament, and we believe they were not.

In the matter of Morton's declaration, which Henderson considers of so much importance, Morton emitted more than one declaration. In the first the Casket Letters were taken from George Dalgleish as he was returning to Dunbar. In the other they were got under a bed in the Potterow of Edinburgh. The only men who could speak to Morton's integrity in this matter were executed before Morton produced the letters, so that there is great doubt about both declarations, and it is impossible without confirmation to accept either the one or the other. Mary's commissioners, whose integrity has never been called in question, not even by her accusers, stated that "Morton's bare affirmation of the way in which the letters came into his hands cannot in equity be regarded." The writer referred to has not proved anything conclusively against the queen, and yet he is one of her principal accusers. A careful perusal of the records of the period manifests pretty clearly the circumstances under which the letters were

fabricated. They were got up for a purpose. If they had been genuine they would have been signed and dated. This writer avoids that crucial point, but it is a fact that they were not so, and no stronger or more conclusive objection can be urged against them.

In regard to Nos. 3, 4, and 5, said by some writers to be addressed to Darnley, the language is too undignified, too gross, to be Mary's. For instance, in No. 3 she "for ever dedicates unto you her heart, her body, without any change, as unto him that I have made possessor of my heart," etc. Her relations with Darnley at this period were too strained to allow her to write him such a letter, even had she desired to do so. Nos. 6, 7, and 8 were written to show that she was a party to Bothwell's plot to seize her and carry her to Dunbar. The evidence against this is conclusive, so far as can be gathered from official documents which we possess. She had no knowledge whatever of the plot. Subsequent events confirm this. We have also the corroboration of Du Croc, an eye-witness, whose testimony has never been challenged. Nos. 6, 7, and 8 were alleged to be written from Stirling in the space of twenty-four hours. That Mary would write Bothwell three times in that

space is too ludicrous for serious consideration. Assuming such letters to be sent to Bothwell, where are his replies? Not a single letter of his can be produced, nor is it alleged that he ever wrote a reply. Mary wrote such a large plain hand that it was easily copied, and in writing to her commissioners at Westminster she said that many of her subjects could counterfeit her writing. There are hundreds of her genuine letters extant, and not one of them contains an expression to which exception can be taken. Are we to believe that Mary, universally recognized for her accomplishments and high principle, sank to the depth of wickedness depicted in these letters? It is obvious that a charge of this kind ought to be supported by the strongest evidence. In the presence of open enemies her resolution and her ready wit never failed her. Throgmorton, Knox, Cecil himself, she was a match, and more than a match for, but against treachery she was defenceless.[1] "I have read the whole controversy as to the genuineness or forgery of these documents. I have ransacked the State Paper Office for information on the subject, and there does not appear to me to be a tittle of evidence, exclusive of these despicable forgeries, to prove

[1] *Hosack.*

that Mary Stuart had any knowledge of the murder of her husband."[1]

If the letters were genuine why was Dalgleish executed before his connection with them had been ascertained; and why was no action whatever taken for about a year after his execution, when they were brought up at Westminster by Moray? These points are unanswerable. Again, Mary's persistent request to have a personal interview with Elizabeth, in order to make her defence, her solemn assertion of the forgery of the letters again and again repeated, and her undertaking to prove the forgery if the originals were produced, are all points that mark her innocence. Elizabeth's evasive answers and her inability to produce any "originals" are circumstances which the historian[2] says are absolutely irreconcileable with her being guilty of the murder of her husband. And, he adds, it is impossible to defend Moray's management of the evidence against Mary. His refusal to produce the "originals," and the state in which the copies have descended to our time, garbled and altered and interpolated, throws on him the utmost suspicion, and renders it impossible to receive such evidence.[2] Nelson and Crawford were the only two witnesses

[1] *Chalmers.* [2] *Tytler.*

produced at Westminster. The deposition of Crawford, when carefully compared with the corresponding portion of the alleged letter of the queen, affords perhaps the strongest proof of the forgery which we possess.[1] Mary asserted that the letters were forged by Moray, Morton, Maitland, and Buchanan, and she offered to prove this. Here is an illustration of the persecution to which she was subjected :—Nicholas Hubert, a servant of Bothwell, said, in his confession before his execution in 1569, that, on the 25th of January, 1567, he travelled from Glasgow to Edinburgh with a letter from Mary to Bothwell. On the 26th he returned from Edinburgh to Glasgow with Bothwell's answer to Mary. On the 27th he met the king and queen on the road. It would appear, when this is inquired into, that it is entirely false. Bothwell was not in Edinburgh at all on these dates, while in Moray's journal it is stated that he was in Liddesdale, and returned to Edinburgh on the 28th of January. Mary was in Glasgow on the 26th and 27th of January. If there was no other proof of fraud, the persistent refusal of her enemies to allow her to inspect the evidence against her would be held alone sufficient by any tribunal in the civilized world

[1] *Hosack.*

to deprive it of all credit.[1] The elder Tytler informs us that, after the secret council, the letters were brought up in the Parliament held eleven days afterwards with this important change, "they were written in her own hand," the word "subscribed" being withdrawn. This was another of Moray's tricks, and, though he tried to make out that this important word was left out by a clerk, there is presumptive evidence that it was not. What does Burton say?—

"We cannot doubt that Mary herself knew what the documents professed to be, and was silent on the question whether they were her own writings or forgeries."

Mary could not have used more emphatic language than she did in disowning these letters; and she was anything but silent on the subject, if we refer to her correspondence with her commissioners during the conference. Crawford, Lennox's servant, gave evidence at the conference, and Burton, who evidently believes in him, gives at some length a full record, which is a conversation between Mary and Darnley at Glasgow. As Burton admits that Crawford was spoken of in connection with the forgery of the letters, he might have suspected the accuracy of this

[1] *Hosack.*

evidence. Though he tries to make a distinguished soldier of this man, and calls him the laird of Jordanhill, he was evidently an accomplished forger and a traitor. These conferences prove the character of Mary's accusers, and especially of Elizabeth and her ministers. There are some writers in our own time who have indulged in unwarrantable strictures respecting Mary's guilt, *e.g.* "The expressions in the letters are not consistent with an innocent purpose." Admitted; but such writing is meaningless if the letters are forgeries: and until Mary's guilt has been proved, such writing is premature. These letters, from their first appearance in the hands of Morton until their final exit with him, we see stamped with the brand of falsehood, so palpable that, before any court of inquiry other than Elizabeth's, it must have branded them with infamy.[1] The writer we have referred to says: "The evidence of her guilt was not then so undeniable as it is now." Nothing has come to light so far as we know to incriminate Mary, and any one making such an accusation should give his authority. And what kind of evidence did Moray give at these conferences apart from the Casket Letters? Why, no

[1] *W. Tytler.*

evidence at all, for the simple reason that he had none, and that he was one of the murderers! and he intimated that he would make no accusation against Mary unless Elizabeth supported him with money.

Burton tells us that Crawford was present when Darnley, in his sick-bed, received the memorable visit from his wife. For this no authority is given and the statement may be regarded as a pure invention. If the Casket Letters were written by Mary, how is this position of Crawford to be explained? If they were forgeries it is easy to understand it, and also his anxiety to prove what he knew to be false. Here is one of Burton's arguments:—

"If Queen Mary is entitled to the benefit of all doubts, the confederate lords who brought the charge and evidence against her are entitled to the benefit of all doubts to protect their character from the stigma of conspiracy."

To this we say no. The one thing does not follow the other at all. The confederate lords signed a bond requiring Bothwell to marry the queen. Their instructions were carried out, and the result was Mary's ruin and captivity. After the event they changed their minds, seized and

imprisoned the queen, and hunted her to the death. These are the men who, according to Burton, are entitled to the benefit of all doubts. The simplicity of Burton is sometimes conspicuous; *e.g.* "Suppose it to have been settled in conclave that such a set of letters were to be forged, who was there with the genius to accomplish the plot?" The letters are not the work of genius, but coarse, incoherent pieces of composition. The names of Moray, Morton, Buchanan, and Maitland will always be identified with these forgeries; and, in regard to Bothwell, the presumption is that but for the Ainslie bond the queen would never have been imprisoned. One of the most extraordinary things in connection with this matter is a letter in the Cotton Collection, which we do not remember to have seen before. In it Moray, Morton, and others perjure themselves by maintaining that the queen wrote the Casket Letters, when, as a matter of fact, they were well aware she did not. This letter was written during the sitting of the York conference, and was meant to be a final and unchallengeable condemnation of the Queen of Scots. We must express surprise that so cunning a man as Moray allowed himself to subscribe this document,

knowing it to be false; but it shows that Mary's accusers were bent on her destruction by the production of false evidence and, if necessary, by perjury. The letter is as follows:—

Whereas for verification of the earl or addition to our answer presented by us against the accusation of our adversaries concerning the murder of King Henry of good memory our sovereign lord's deceased father, we have produced divers missive letters, sonnets, obligations, or contracts, for marriage betwixt the queen mother to our said sovereign, and James sometime Earl Bothwell. As written or subscribit by her hand, which were intercepted and come to our hands closed within a silver box in such a manner as is already manifested and declared. And we by the tenor hereof testify, avow, and affirm upon our honour and conscience that the said whole missives, writings, sonnets, obligations, or contracts are undoubtedly the said queen's proper handwrite, except the contract in Scotch, of the date at serving the 5th day of April 1567, written by the Earl of Huntly, which also we understand and perfectly know to be subscrivit by her, and will take the same upon our honour and conscience as is before said. In witness whereof we have subscrivit these presents with our hands at Westminster, the 10th day of December, the year of God 1568.

JAMES, *Regent.*
MORTON.
DUNFERMLINE.
HAMILTON.
AD. ORKNEY.

Writing to Elizabeth on December 6, 1568, the Bishop of Ross says—

"The Queen of Scots would never consent to so cruel and ungodly a deed, being always so wise, circumspect, and so well honoured and obeyed within her realm. She never had such a thought in her mind, much less consented thereto. These letters are forged and made expressly by her adversaries to colour their ungrateful and ungodly behaviour towards her. They who have put hands on their prince, imprisoned her and committed such heinous crimes; if a counterfeited letter would be sufficient to maintain their cause, secure them a kingdom or the government of it, they would not hesitate at forgery. The letters are not subscribed, nor sealed, nor signed, and contain no date, year, month or day, nor are they addressed to any man; nor is there mention of any bearer who received them from the queen, or who delivered them at her command to any other. In the name of the Eternal God, whom I take to witness in your majesty's presence, I declare my mistress innocent."

The whole circumstances, when submitted to analysis, indicate that the Casket Letters were produced at the instigation or by the express command of the Darnley conspirators. The attitude of Moray and Morton at the York and Westminster conferences leads to this conclusion. Had these letters been written by the queen the originals would have been produced, and there

would have been no necessity to exhibit them in several languages. Who, then, actually wrote them? The most likely and capable men among the conspirators were Maitland, Buchanan, Archibald Douglas, and Thomas Crawford; and a calm review of the situation convinces us that these were the men who committed the deed. The other conspirators, Moray, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, undoubtedly were in the secret, and were instigators, but they may safely be excluded from any suspicion of writing them, as they were quite incompetent for work of that kind, whereas the other four were notable scribes. If Douglas could forge letters from the Archbishop of Glasgow to Lennox, which he did, he could also have assisted at the Casket Letters: and we have the statement of Lord Herries that "in the box were all these, and papers drawn between Bothwell, Moray, and Morton, that discovered them to be the plotters" or instigators. The Casket Letters, as any one can see, were too formidable to be the production of one person. Their composition stamps them as being the work of more than one. They were made the subject of comment by various anonymous writers, evidently writers who were well known, and presumably conspirators or connected with conspirators, the intention

being to prejudice Mary in the eyes of Elizabeth's commissioners, and to strengthen Moray in his false accusation before the York conference. His accusation simply amounted to a re-echo of the worst parts of the Casket Letters. Here is one of them, reproduced by Haynes from the Cecil MSS. now in the British Museum. It was preserved by Cecil, and endorsed and annotated by him, and is a false and fraudulent production from beginning to end. For anything we know, the writers of these so-called abstracts were paid for doing so by Elizabeth and Moray; and Cecil, willing to receive anything against the Queen of Scots, was careful to preserve these scandalous papers in his own private collection.

"A brief note of the principal points of the Queen of Scots' letters written to Bothwell, which may tend to her condemnation for her consent and procuring of the murder of her husband, as far as we could by the reading gather—

"*First*, the plain and manifest words contained in the said letters, declaring the inordinate and filthy love between her and Bothwell.

"*Next*, the like words, plainly declaring how she hated and abhorred her husband.

"Then for the declaration of the conspiracy, and her consent to the murder; how she took her journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow to visit him, being there sick, and purposely of intent to bring him with her to Edinburgh.

"She wrote to Bothwell from Glasgow how she flattered her husband to obtain her purpose, and that the

Earl of Lennox, his father, that day that she was devising to bring his son to Edinburgh, did bleed at the nose and mouth, willing the said Bothwell to guess what presage it was.

"She wrote also, that she was about a work that she hated greatly, and that she lied and dissembled to get credit with her husband, and to bring her fashious purpose to pass; confessing herself to do the office of a traitoress, which, were it not to obey Bothwell, she had rather be dead than do it, for her heart did bleed at it. Also she wrote that she had won her husband to go with her to Edinburgh, and to do whatever she would have him to do, saying, Alas, she never deceived any before; remitting herself altogether to the will and pleasure of Bothwell, wherein she would obey him, whatsoever came thereof; requiring him to advise with himself, if he could find out any other secret invention by medicine, for her husband was to take medicine and the bath also at Craigmillar. She requested Bothwell to burn the letter, for it was over dangerous to them, and nothing well said in it, for that she was thinking upon nothing but fascherie, requiring him that, in order to obey him, her dear love, she spared neither honour, conscience, hazard, nor greatness whatsoever, he would take it in good part, and that he would not see her whose feigned tears should not be so much praised as the faithful travailler which she sustained to merit her place, for the obtaining whereof, against her nature, she betrayed him that might impeach it, praying God to forgive her, and to give unto Bothwell, her only love, the happiness and prosperity which she, his humble and

faithful love, wisheth unto him; hoping shortly to be another thing unto him for the reward of her irksome troubles. Finally she wrote to Bothwell that, according to her commission she would bring the man with her; praying him to work wisely or else the whole burden would lie on her shoulders; and especially to make good watch that the bird escaped not out of the cage."

It will be noticed that the composition of this paper is not unlike that of the Casket Letters, and it is evident that it was written by precisely the same faction. There are many expressions in it which are almost identical; and they are unusual expressions, indicating pretty clearly the source of the matter. It would be intended, no doubt, as a piece of supplementary evidence, to strengthen Moray's hands, for Moray required all the help he could get. The people were completely against him, and he was in the hands and at the mercy of the faction who surrounded him. Doubtless this faction fabricated *in toto* the evidence produced against the Queen of Scots while the title of the paper is suggestive of forgery.

Moray, who was evidently alarmed lest the bubble should burst, kept these letters in his possession till his death—a circumstance of great suspicion. Then his successor, Lennox, got them, and he, in 1571, gave them back to

Morton. When Morton was executed they fell into the Earl of Gowrie's hands. Elizabeth, evidently fearing that the forgery would be discovered, determined to get possession of them from Gowrie, and offered a premium, but he refused to give them up. He knew the importance of being custodier of them, as it gave him a fine lever-power over Elizabeth if she attempted to quarrel with him. What became of them after Gowrie's death is not known, but a writer we have already quoted says, "To her dying day they were industriously hid from her, and at last buried for ever in the same pit of darkness from which they at first emerged." [1] The story of the Casket being at Hamilton Palace is evidently a fiction, as it cannot be identified as the genuine one. The conclusion we arrive at is that the writers of the Casket Letters were Maitland, Buchanan, Archibald Douglas, and Thomas Crawford, inspired by Moray, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay.

[1] *W. Tytler.*

# APPENDIX

## THE RICCIO BOND.

(MODERNISED TRANSCRIPT OF THE FACSIMILE.)

*Bond by James Stewart Earl of Murray and others to assist Henry King of Scotland, husband of Queen Mary, in obtaining the crown matrimonial, and for other purposes. 2nd March, 1565–6.*

Certain articles to be fulfilled by Archibald Earl of Argyll, James Earl of Murray, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree and their associates to a noble and mighty prince, Henry, King of Scotland, husband to our sovereign lady, which articles the said persons offer with most humble lowliness and service to the said noble prince, for whom to God they pray that he may prosper in good health and prosperity with long life and good succession of his body.

1. Item first the said earls, lords, and their associates shall become, and by the tenor hereof become, faithful subjects and servants to a noble and mighty prince, Henry, by the Grace of God King of Scotland and husband to our sovereign lady, that they and each one of them and all others that will do for them, shall take a true and upright part with the said noble prince in all his actions, causes, quarrels, against whomsoever, to the uttermost of their powers, and shall be friendly to his friends and hostile to his enemies, and shall not spare their lives, lands, goods, nor possessions to do his majesty service.

2. Item the said earls, lords, and their associates shall, at the first parliament or other parliaments that shall happen to be held after their returning within this realm, by themselves and others that have vote in parliament consent, and by these presents consent, now as then and then as now, to grant and give the crown matrimonial to the said noble prince for all the days of his life, and should any person or person withstand or gainsay the same, the said earls, lords and their associates shall take such part as the said noble prince takes in whatsoever means for obtaining of the said crown against all and whomsoever that may live or die [living or dead] as shall best please the said noble prince.

3. Item, the said earls, lords, and their associates shall fortify and maintain the said noble prince's just title to the crown of Scotland, failing of the succession of our sovereign lady, and shall justify and set forward the same to their uttermost power; and should any manner of persons usurp or gainsay the said just title the said lords and their associates shall maintain, defend, and set forward the same as best shall please the said noble prince without fear of living or dead, [life or death], and shall seek and pursue them that usurp as shall please the said noble prince to command, to extirpate them out of the realm of Scotland or take or slay them.

4. Item, as to the religion which was established by our sovereign lady the queen's majesty shortly after her arriving in this realm, whereupon acts and proclamations were made, and of new again granted by the said noble prince to the said earls, lords, and their associates that they and each of them shall fortify and maintain the same to their uttermost powers by the help, support, and maintenance of the said noble prince; and should any person or persons gainsay the same or any part thereof, or begin to make tumult or uproar for the same, the said earls, lords, and their associates shall take one upright, true, and plain part with the said noble prince against the said contemnors and usurpers to their uttermost powers.

5. Item, as they are becoming true and faithful subjects, men, and servants, to the said noble prince, and shall be leal

and true to his majesty, as becomes true subjects to their natural prince, and as true and faithful servants serve their good masters with their bodies, lands, goods, and possessions, and shall neither spare living nor dead in setting forward all things that may be to the advancement of the said noble prince.

6. Item, the said earls, lords, and their associates shall labour at the Queen of England's hands for the relief of the said noble prince's mother and brother, by themselves, and such others as they may procure to the uttermost of their powers, that they may be relieved out of ward to remain in England freely or to repair to Scotland as they shall think most expedient without stop or impediment to herself, her son, their servants and moveables.

7. Item, the said earls, lords, and their associates shall, by themselves and others that will do for them, labour and procure at the Queen of England's hands that the said noble prince may have her kindness, goodwill and assistance in all his majesty's honourable and just causes against all foreign princes whatsoever. At Newcastle the second of March, 1565.

[It will be noticed that, of the four earls and two lords named in the bond, only two earls and one lord actually signed it, viz. Moray, Rothes, and Ochiltree, the other signatories being Sir W. Kirkaldy, John Wishart, and James Halyburton. Though Riccio's name is not mentioned, it is evident that clauses 3 and 5 provide for his assassination.]

## RICCIO CONSPIRACY.

### *Morton and Ruthven to Cecil.*

In our last communication we promised to send you the whole narrative of the manner and proceedings of the slaughter of Davie, whereby your honour might clearly understand what was the King's part, the Queen's, ours, the barons and

gentlemen, being with us in company, which narrative, according to our promise, we have sent faithfully and truly written, as the deed and proceedings were. If there is anything that is hardly (harshly) written, that might have been couched in gentler terms, we will most humbly request your honour to supply us therein, to amend and qualify as your wisdom thinks best anything that is extreme or rudely handled. It is our intention, after the return of your answer, with this copy corrected, and if so you find good, to send copies to France, Scotland, and such other places needful as shall be thought necessary for stopping false and untrue reports and rumours, should any such be sent to inform princes otherwise. We have written what our meaning was for the slaughter of Davie and the cause thereof in our last letter, and yet to make the same unto your honour more clear, we take God to witness we had no particular quarrel against him, but seeing such extreme dealing against our brethren by his counsel, the religion to be suppressed, the amity of the two countries to be broken, the brethren that were behind to be wrecked, and finding the King to have so violent a quarrel against him, all this made us willing to take our part in that deed. As your honour may perceive by the narrative sent you at more length, already we believe no other prince nor good subject can be offended, the truth of the matter being known as we doubt not your honour will consider after the perusal of your letters. And thereafter you will inform the Queen's Majesty and others as your wisdom thinks proper, the favour which you have shown at all times to our afflicted brethren, and specially to the Earl of Moray and others with him for whose relief we are presently in trouble. This makes us the more bold to crave your honour's help, which we shall be willing to accept, and shall hope by your assistance and the assistance of our brethren at home to come to their relief shortly. We are advised that the Earls of Moray and Argyll have been written for to come to court, after whose coming we will look for intimation from them, of which your honour shall be informed with such other information as we receive from time to time. You will please